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[An asterisk *at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

III

REFLECTIONS OF THE "MADRAS MAIL" ON THE MADRAS COUNCIL.

The hon. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, a certain leading article in one of the Madras dailies in which the attitude of the hon. the President of this Council has been referred to has been brought to my notice and with your permission, Sir, I propose to deal with the subject-matter to-morrow after question time."

IV

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A. NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I have to announce that in addition to the days already allotted by His Excellency the Governor for non-official business, viz., 14th, 29th and 30th March 1927, His Excellency has allotted the 31st March 1927 as an extra day for non-official business."

B. TIME-LIMIT OF SPEECHES DURING THE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Before we proceed to the order of the day—the general discussion of the budget—I should like to mention that under sub-rule (iii) of rule 28 of the Legislative Council Rules, I have fixed, according to the practice hitherto followed, a timelimit of 15 minutes for each hon. Member's speech during that discussion. The afternoon of the third day will be at the disposal of hon. Members of the Government to make their replies."

V

COMMUNICATION TO THE COUNCIL.

With reference to the undertaking given by the hon. the Minister for Development on 24th January 1927 in reply to question No. 22, the Secretary placed on the table copies of the note^a embodying the information obtained by Government.

VI

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1926-27.

* Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—" Mr. President, Sir, as it is usual we are given an opportunity and the privilege of discussing the budget that has been recently introduced by the hon. the Finance Member. But when we consider the advantage accruing from the general discussion and even for the matter of that from the various discussions made after the general discussion on the budget we feel that this is merely a formal matter which will not materially affect either the budget or the policy of the Government. I find it extremely difficult to characterize the budget which is not in any way at great variance from the other budgets that we are having year after year. I cannot say it is disappointing because nothing better can be expected from the hands of the alien bureaucracy who, without having any sympathetic

^a Printed as Appendix II on page 215 infra.

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understanding of the people and without having the welfare and the prosperity of the people as a whole at their heart, have neglected persistently matters of expenditure which might be really serviceable for the people. Famine is following famine with greater frequency and vigour and rigour and the people of the Presidency are brought not by the accidental matter of any single year but by a course of years into a state of poverty which will force them to go only with one meal a day and that of coarser grain than rice. Irrigation, the primary need of the country, is being neglected grossly in spite of famines year after year. As a matter of fact these irrigation projects are paying very well. In spite of that we see main projects and great productive projects are even delayed abnormally. It is known to the Council that these projects will not in any way affect the budget. They are financed from loans of the India Government who are pleased to lend us the necessary funds at an advantageous rate. These projects are paying a greater amount than what this Government will have to pay to the Government of India as I find from the administration report of the Presidency that the productive works are paying from 12 to 13 per cent interest. In spite of that we see gross neglect. Even if any attempt is made it is made to those favourably situated deltaic districts. The poverty-stricken ryots of the Ceded districts and the other districts which have not got the good fortune of having perennial sources of water-supply from rivers or minor irrigation works are neglected. Small projects such as the restoration of tanks or the construction of small reservoirs which will not require large capital of crores and crores are being neglected. With what effect? Remission after remission is given year after year. From the administration report we find every year remissions to the extent of 27 to 30 lakhs were given. In considering about the productivity of a work you will have to take into consideration the fact that by improving the resources of the so-called unproductive works they will be saving themselves from heavy remissions year after year.

noon. "Then, coming to expenditure which is quite unnecessary, even though year after year or at least in more than one year, the expenditure on the Revenue Board was voted down by the Council, there the Revenue Board is still continuing. I do not know to whose benefit. When this Council says year after year that in this poor country where the high-paid are very much over-paid the low-paid are not getting a salary sufficient to maintain a single individual, no heed is paid to it. The low-paid are groaning under poverty and rise in prices consequent upon famines, which is making their condition more miserable. Take for instance, the case of the village talaiyaris, or of the village officers, or of the low-paid clerks in the various establishments of the Government. These are asked to do Government duty with a salary in some cases of Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 a month. Those who are designated as clerks and who are expected to live a decent and tolerable middle-class life are given a minimum salary of Rs. 35 a month. Can you find a parallel to this in any other country where the Government is paying such a very low salary. The Government say that the country is poor and cannot pay higher salaries; but then, what about the extravagantly higher salaries which are paid here and which are not known even in countries whose incomes are very many times more than our income? What about the Government which wants to feed these higher services and feels the necessity of getting an income from the demoralization of the people? I refer to the income derived from excise. It is the demoralization of the people that is bringing this revenue to the Government. It is said that this revenue will

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be cut down from year to year. In spite of the policy of the Government, both of the past and the present ministry, that drink will be suppressed, we are surprised to find that revenue from drink is increasing, and that too even in spite of the policy expressed by the present Excise Minister this morning and in spite of the total prohibition of at least one of the intoxicating drinks in a few taluks of the Presidency. With reference to the revenue from excise an experiment has been made by the Bombay Government in the way of rationing these country liquors. We find from the budget recently presented there that on account of this rationing consumption of country spirits has decreased and there has been a consequent decrease in revenue. In this Presidency where the health officers and the health staff are not even permitted to preach the evils of drink, it is not surprising that drink is abnormally increasing. There is another reason, I think, for the increase of drink, and that is the poverty of the people. It might look paradoxical. But the fact is that, owing to poverty, thousands and thousands of people are migrating to Rangoon and other foreign places where they are free from local opinion and there they take to drink. It has been my experience to find that even in villages where drink is practically unknown among many communities, when once some members of those communities go to Rangoon or some other colonies and come back contracting this habit, they spread this evil even among those hitherto sober castes.

"In the Budget Memorandum, an attempt is made by the hon. the Finance Member to answer the charge that increased revenue which has accrued by the remissions of the Government of India is mostly spent on Reserved subjects, very little being spent on Transferred departments. It has been pointed out by me previously that it has been the sad experience of this Presidency even before the Reforms that the nation-building departments were starved. And from the statement that is given with regard to the expenditure before the Reforms you will find that somehow or other our Government did not find use for vast sums of money which went into the Imperial Exchequer. We find from the revenue and expenditure account that a great amount of money perhaps on account of non-utilization by the Government was given back to the India Government. That is one of the reasons why the provincial contribution from this Presidency was abnormally high. Even in those days, the nation-building departments were neglected, if not actually starved. Now in the statements of comparison given by the hon. the Finance Member we find of course some statistics, and statistics are misleading and deceptive. He wants to convince us by giving the amounts that have accrued to us since the Reforms and the percentages that have been spent upon the Transferred and Reserved subjects. He has given the percentage of the moneys on those subjects previous to the Reforms. Our complaint is that much money is being spent on Reserved subjects and very little on development departments. The hon. the Finance Member says that so much percentage of money was only given to those departments over the amount before the Reforms. We say that the Reserved departments ought to be retrenched and that not only the amount that is got by such retrenchment but also the whole of the amount that accrues on account of the abatement of provincial contributions ought to have been spent on the nation-developing departments."

Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am sure the House will agree with me in appreciating the very lucid and clear financial

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statement presented to the House by the hon. the Finance Member, and in his review of the financial position of this province he has struck a new note and has presented the revenue and expenditure sides in such a form that it facilitates easy reference. In other words, where hon. Members will have to wade through figures of revenue and expenditure with a view to close analysis and scrutiny, he has departed from the ordinary procedure and presented figures of revenue and expenditure in a form that we can easily at a glance see where we stand. Again, another feature of the budget is that it gives a promise, a hope of the release of our contributions. If all our representatives in the Legislative Assembly watch our interests and carry the trust which is reposed in them, surely we should expect that these contributions will be remitted, and this province will have the advantage of Rs. 165 lakhs released to us from the Government of India. (Mr. S. Satyamurti: 'What should they do?') It is owing to that burden which has been heavily put upon us that we have been handicapped year after year since the Reforms, and since the Reforms it was the painful duty of the Finance Member and the painful duty of the hon. Members of this House to deplore year after year that this handicap has been such that development in every direction has been crippled and that we have not been able to carry out much. Now, we have the hope that if our representatives in the Legislative Assembly are interested (Mr. Satyamurti: 'How?') in securing the amount that has been a burden on us released from our shoulders, our finances will improve. I am sure the representatives of our province in the Assembly know best how to adjust their own positions and how to satisfy their own conscience and how to discharge their responsibility. Therefore, it is not for me to dictate, it is not for me to decide for them how best to discharge their trust in the best interests of this province. (A voice: 'You can suggest.') I am not going to. (Mr. S. Satyamurti: 'You dare not.')

"It is also gratifying to find that the hon. the Finance Member has been able to budget for a deficit because otherwise he would not be able to provide anything for the development departments. If there is a surplus, then it would be a disaster to this province. Hence he has done very rightly to budget for a deficit ostensibly. But I shall show by an analysis of the figures presented how that is not a real deficit, because if you take what is called the opening balance with what is estimated to be the revenues of the province, you will find that there is a surplus to our credit and it is not really a deficit of Rs. 69.33 lakhs as it is shown by a manipulation of the budget. I will show that for the release of our contributions it is a very far-reaching principle by which we have nearly achieved our goal of provincial autonomy. (Mr. S. Satyamurti: 'Oh!') Because financial independence is a condition precedent to provincial autonomy. If we are still in the leading strings of the Government of India, if our finance and accounts are dependent on the Central Government, if our audit and accounts are not separated, then you can never have that independence. Therefore, provincial financial independence to my mind is the *sine qua non* of provincial autonomy.

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"Therefore I welcome the announcement made by the hon. the Finance Member that we shall have a remission of the contribution to the Central Government.

"Now looking at the budget figures as given by the hon. the Finance Member, we find that he anticipates a revenue of 16,54.80 lakhs. Now this

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requires close examination. Naturally the Finance Member and the Government will be anxious to see what was the best position with regard to the revised estimates. The revised estimates of the current year are a standard and a guide for anticipating the revenues of the next year. They are not conclusive in any way, and they are subject to variations for the next three or four months during which it may increase or decrease. Hence you cannot always take the revised estimates as a safe guide. We have to arrive at a certain standard for purposes of comparison. How is the average standard to be worked out? The Finance Member says that it is not a possible or practical work because it is subject to other conditions which he has specified in his speech. I venture to differ from him. It is possible to fix a standard of comparison. When we have once fixed a standard for one year we can go on seeing what the fluctuations or variations are in succeeding years.

"There is another thing which the hon. the Finance Member has indicated, namely, the average increase of revenue each year. If we add on these figures to the standard revenue that can be fixed for the budget of next year then we find that 16.80 lakhs would be the probable revenue that can be anticipated next year. However, though he said in his speech there is an element of recklessness in budgeting for the next year, I am sure you will now see that there is excessive caution in ascertaining the figures of revenue for the next year.

"Then if you take the figures of revenue as the Finance Member gives us, 16,54.80 lakhs, the expenditure is estimated at 17,24.13 lakhs. Then he arrives at the opening balance of the next year or the closing balance of the current year, which he expects to be 134.71 lakhs. If we take the opening balance of 134.71 lakhs with the estimated revenues, then we will have a fund available for purposes of budget next year. Deducting for next year 69.33 lakhs we have still a balance available. Thus, as I said, the hon. the Finance Member has erred on the side of excessive caution in preparing the budget for next year. Now, taking this surplus that we have, and what we have of contribution of 1.65 lakhs, we have on the whole 2,30.38 lakhs for the purpose of expenditure on non-recurring items. In the previous year's budget we had not been able to spend the whole of the amount. Therefore, there is always a surplus available for the purpose of closing balance of every year. The closing balance of the year can be arrived at no doubt late in the year, that is, about November or December, which only the Finance Member is able to say. But what is our experience on the previous occasion as to the capacity of our expenditure? As he himself says, 'the eye of each of our departments is apt to be larger than its digestive apparatus,' and provision may be made with regard to the non-recurring expenditure on the surplus at the end of the year. Therefore the unspent balances carried on to the next budget will be its opening balance, and the amount of non-recurring expenditure all told will be 2,30.38 lakhs for next year. Now the question is, what is this House going to do with this? The House has got a serious responsibility in this matter. When our contributions are released, we must consider how best we should utilize it. Hon. Members here who were in the first Council will remember the time when amendments to Court Fees and Stamp Acts were made, the time when the registration fees were enhanced. I said at the time that it was only temporary increase and that it is possible to get a complete relief from the iniquitous impost in another year or two. So it shall be the duty of the House to devise a measure to

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bring down the enhanced registration fees. The second question the House would have to consider is with regard to the reduction of court fees and stamp duties. Now the surplus should be utilized in the reduction of the two taxes. I think about 50 lakhs would be required for these purposes. It is therefore necessary that the House should decide once for all now to ask the Government to introduce the necessary measures to relieve these taxes. The second item on which this 69.33 lakhs should be spent is rural development. National development of the rural area is the most urgent thing for which adequate provision should be made."

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Finance Member has to be congratulated on his frank and lucid exposition of financial facts and details and especially for the tone of optimism which pervades it, and the hopes and expectations raised of our being about to be altogether relieved of the terrible burden which the Meston Award has imposed on this province and which stands in the way of our finances being reorganized and made to rest on stable foundations and made to contribute to such necessary reforms as cannot be delayed without detriment to the welfare of the toiling masses of this province. What the primary needs are may be summed up in one phrase providing such conditions and means of existence as are favourable to this development of *Mens sana in corpor sano*, a sound mind in a sound body. I have often wondered how it is possible to form a vigorous nation of such streams of pale, anæmic men and women as throng our thoroughfares in cities and carry on their work in rural areas in a drowsy fashion. Large grants should be made to local bodies for the purpose of improving sanitation and water-supply and adequate provision should be made for the improvement of irrigation, agriculture with its allied activities. These are works of prime national importance which call for liberal treatment as distinguished from works of secondary importance or of doubtful utility which can well afford to wait. I take first sanitation. This reminds me of the speaker who began with the well-known saying of Solomon, *Vanitas Vanitatum et omnia vanitas* changed into *Sanitas Sanitatum et omnia sanitas*. From the premier municipality of Madras down to the smallest municipality in the mufassal there is a cry for good supply of water, for construction of drainage works or for prevention of stagnant pools. It is no wonder that practically all this year round smallpox and other epidemics are prevalent. It should therefore be the first charge on the provincial budget and on the budgets of local bodies to improve sanitation. Rural sanitation requires a further impetus. A good stand was made by the Raja of Panagal when he inaugurated this scheme of rural medical relief. A more liberal allotment should be made this year than in previous years for this purpose. That the scheme may prove really beneficial the allowances paid to the M.B.B.S.'s and L.M.P.'s and the pay of the midwives should be raised by at least one-fourth; the equipment of drugs improved and a suitable house rent allowed for the dispensary. This will attract the best talent to villages and the presence of these men will contribute not only to efficient medical relief but also, I believe, better the sanitary conditions there.

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" Secondly, agriculture, Sir, is the chief occupation—I may almost say the only occupation worth considering—of the people of this province. It is also a most important and certain source of revenue. It will, therefore, make for economic prosperity not to weigh down the already indebted ryot

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by the imposition of penal assessment or water-rates for technical mistakes which are very often the result of ignorance, so that his penal assessment amounts to nearly a third or fourth of the actual kist collection. By affording the agriculturists increased irrigation facilities, which would ensure a better yield, they may be saved from the clutches of the money-lenders. The Government should be also vigilant in the matter of ensuring proper conservancy and economic use as the case may be of water for single or double crops.

“It is gratifying to note that of late there has been a tendency to make more liberal allotments for irrigation, both major and minor. This is as it should be, especially in the case of minor irrigation works. Irrigation sources fall under two categories : (1) those connected with the irrigation systems of delta tracts and (2) those dependent upon eris and tanks. The latter, Sir, whether under the control of the Public Works or Revenue authorities, have been suffered to deteriorate. The banks or bunds of eris and tanks have become damaged and their storage capacity has diminished either because the channels which supply them with water are not kept in a proper state of repair or because the water is diverted to their own irrigation sources by the villagers living on the upper courses. So, unless the authorities concerned visit the rural parts, look to the necessity of removing the silt in the bed of eris, in the bed of supply channels, etc., and unless large sums are voted for the purpose, I fear the condition of the agriculturist who has to depend upon the caprices of the monsoon is bound to be one of despair.

“As for the ryots who enjoy the benefits of the irrigation system in the delta tracts, their condition is also often precarious. Confining myself to the Cauvery delta, I find in the Cauvery Committee's report several suggestions and recommendations. These include the raising of the flood bank of the Cauvery and the Vennar, the remodelling of sluices, improved regulators, etc. I am glad the Government are giving effect to these recommendations. It is but just that all these recommendations in toto should be given effect to before the Cauvery-Mettur project becomes a *fait accompli*. And if this larger scheme can avert floods and ensure a steady flow of water down to the lowest reaches of the Cauvery it will fulfil all reasonable expectations. But, for this our experts must avoid putting the cart before the horse. of going on with the acquisition of lands, construction of officers' quarters and bridges before they satisfied themselves as to the strength and durability and immunity from every risk of the head works. The change of the venue of the head works after nearly two years of careful scrutiny and preliminary investigation and experiment is very regrettable. Not that I do not approve of it, for it is better late than never, but what this may mean in rupees is more than I can say.

“Turning now to the work of other departments beneficial to agriculturists, I would suggest the starting of one or two land mortgage banks, with a view to relieve the indebtedness of the agriculturists, one or two agricultural schools and a system whereby the ryot may enjoy the full benefit of agricultural loans, of takavi loans. As it is he cannot derive adequate profit from his labours owing to the absence of roads and communications, it is impossible for him to bring manure, etc., to his fields or take his produce to the town. Co-operation can do much in these matters. But, for this, there must be a right kind of elementary education, a right kind of adult education

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I**NEW MEMBER.**

The following Member was sworn in :—

The ZAMINDAR OF KALLIKOTA.

II**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.**

[Order made by the President of the Madras Legislative Council under Standing Order No. 15 on the 4th December 1924.]

1. Starred questions to be put at a meeting of the Council with their answers shall be printed and placed on the Council table an hour before the President takes his seat.

The President will call out the name of each interpellator in the order in which the names are printed, specify the serial number of his question and make a sufficient pause to give him or any other Member a reasonable opportunity of rising in his place and putting a supplementary question. Supplementary questions must be put immediately after the principal questions to which they relate.

2. If a Member responsible for a starred question happens to be absent when it is called, it will be open either to him or to any other Member to put supplementary questions thereon after the other starred questions for the day have been answered, provided question-time is not thereby exceeded.

3. Questions, not starred, will not be called in Council, but they will be printed with their answers and placed on the table of the House along with the list of starred questions. Oral supplementary questions will not be allowed in regard to unstarred questions.]

STARRED QUESTIONS**Excise**

Prohibition of the sale of arrack and toddy.

* 198 Q.—MR. C. GOPALA MENON : Will the hon. the Minister for Public Health be pleased to state—

(a) the number of toddy and foreign liquor shops in the taluks in which prohibition of sale of arrack has been introduced at the commencement of the experiment and the years that have elapsed since then ;

(b) the consumption of toddy and foreign liquor at the beginning of the experiment and now ;

(c) whether any special report has been received on the working of the experiment ; and

(d) if so, whether the Government will be pleased to place it on the table of the House ?

A.—(a) The number of toddy shops in the five taluks before the closure of arrack shops was 62 in Shiyali, 99 in Tiruthuraipundi, 90 in Tiruvadanai, 40 in Tenkasi and 43 in Attur. There was one F.L. shop in each of the taluks of Tiruthuraipundi, Tiruvadanai and Tenkasi and none in the Shiyali and Attur taluks. About three years have elapsed since the commencement of the experiment.

(b) The Government have no information.

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hon. Members of the other parties think that it is workable. So far as the provincial Government is concerned, they have been saying that with the goodwill and co-operation of the Legislative Council, they can always make diarchy workable. But if we look into the history of these six years we will see that very little would be achieved by the working of this diarchical system. The burden of taxation borne by the agriculturist who, in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, is the foundation upon which the whole of the economic prosperity of India rests, has been increased. The demand of the agriculturist has been the permanent settlement of land tenure and improved irrigation facilities and an Act regulating irrigation cess. But what has happened in this Council is that no land tenure has been settled. Even the new Bill which has been recently published shows that no attempt is going to be made by this Government towards that end. With regard to the Irrigation Bill what part the Government has played is fresh in the memory of hon. Members. The Governor did not give his assent to the Irrigation Bill passed by this Council. We have it from the hon. the Law Member and in the speech of His Excellency that the provisions on which stress was laid by this Council have been taken away from the new Bill proposed to be introduced.

“ If this Council consents to the Government going its own way a Bill will be introduced. When the further consideration of that Bill which was introduced was postponed, even the hon. Member who moved for the postponement was not aware that that Bill would not be introduced again. He naturally thought that that Bill as it stood at that date would be introduced again. Taking advantage of the legal position, the hon. the Law Member now says that he is not going to introduce that Bill, but that he would introduce a Bill in which the provisions that are very useful to the ryot will not be included. This is the result of the dyarchic system. If the hon. the Law Member were in our position and if he had to face the electorate as he did once, he would not use such language. Otherwise, he would not be tolerated for a day. Unfortunately the Treasury Bench Members are free from the risks of facing an electorate, except, of course, the hon. Ministers. ”

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“ I come now to the excise policy of the Government. It is difficult for me to understand the position of the Government on this question. I thought that this being a transferred subject the hon. Ministers will have full authority to deal with the matter as they liked. But from the Government Order now issued by the Government I understand that it is not only not in the power of the Ministers to do anything but that the whole Cabinet put together cannot adopt a policy of prohibition without the consent of the Government of India. When the Justice Party came into power they ought to have been aware of the feeling in the country on this question. They simply aided the Government in arresting and sending to prison peaceful preachers of temperance. They could not make up their minds to do something in the matter and they never wanted to do anything real and therefore they thought the best way of doing it was to appoint an advisory committee as I am told they always do, and ask the committee to advise. Perhaps, the Ministers got into position without knowing what they should do with regard to the questions with which they were entrusted. The Advisory Committee which was appointed in 1921 sent its report in 1925—a very short time indeed! The report was dealt with exhaustively by the Council. My hon. Friend Mr. Satyamurti moved a resolution asking the

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Government to declare that prohibition was their goal and to take certain steps in that direction immediately. That resolution was thrown out chiefly with the aid of the Justice Party. My hon. Friend Mr. Muniswami Nayudu then moved a resolution asking the Government to declare that their policy was to reach total prohibition within a period of twenty years. But very unfortunately,—I do not know whether it was an inspired action, but I do not think that my hon. Friend would have done it if left to himself—a rider was added to the resolution to the effect that the question should be referred to the Finance Committee for the purpose of finding out other sources of revenue for making up the loss of revenue which would result from the adoption of that policy. I suppose that the question is now before the Finance Committee. I do not know whether the Finance Committee will take four years or ten years or even the maximum period of twenty years mentioned in the resolution of my hon. Friend. Now, the Government comes with a Government Order on the subject. I cannot understand whether this Government has got any power to issue a Government Order like this after the Council has passed a resolution on the subject. In that Government Order they mercilessly condemn every proposal made in this Council. I question the authority of those responsible for the issue of the Government Order. I do not think that this would be tolerated in any other country. If a resolution is passed in the House of Commons to-day and if the British Cabinet issued an order condemning the views expressed in the Parliament they would not be allowed to continue in office. In this Government Order here the Government say that it is not their policy to aim at total prohibition. They point out that this resolution was passed by only 39 members voting for it while as many as 41 remained neutral. I never thought that the Government would resort to reasoning of this sort. What happened was this. Both the Swaraj Party and the Justice Party barring of course the hon. Ministers who are ex-Ministers now, were of opinion that prohibition should be the goal; and the only difference was with regard to the time limit. The Justice Party accepted Mr. Muniswami Nayudu's resolution because it fixed the time limit they liked. The Government now say that the resolution was carried only by 39 votes. Among the 41 members who remained neutral as many as 26 belonged to the Swaraj Party who all voted for prohibition. There was no difference of opinion with regard to prohibition. I do not see why the Government should feel delicate in the matter of adopting prohibition as their goal and doing justice to the poor in the country. Even the hon. Members on the Treasury Bench could not make up their minds to vote against the resolution; because they thought they could safely issue an order behind the back of the Council. In a transferred subject like this when the party in power passes a resolution like this and say that prohibition should be the goal I thought that it would be binding on the Ministry to carry it out. If the Ministers are not willing to carry out the behests of their own party the only way open to them is to have resigned. (A voice: 'They have resigned.') Not as a result of this. I wish to refer to that aspect of the question later on."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member has almost reached his time limit."

Mr. K. V. R. SWAMI:—"The dyarchic system of Government will not suit any country and it will lead only to absurdities. Under this system a party which has not got a majority of seats in the House can come

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into power. The Justice Party had a majority of seats in the first three years and they were then in power. But during the second period of three years they were in power with the assistance of the Government votes . . .”

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ Mr. President, Sir, in the budget of this year the Cauvery-Mettur project looms very large. This project has been before us for several years now and I should like to sound a note of warning regarding the way in which the expenditure on that project is being incurred without an irrigation law. Enormous expenditure is being incurred on that project. The staff consists of one Chief Engineer in charge of the whole operations, two Superintending Engineers, four Executive Engineers, one Electrical Engineer—all these on high pay—one Collector, eight Deputy Collectors and so on. Already large expenditure has been incurred. His Excellency the Governor was saying the other day that 37 miles of road had been completed and quarters for a gang of five thousand coolies had been built. In the budget of the current year the amount budgeted runs to one crore and though the whole amount is not likely to be spent, as much as 54 lakhs of rupees has been spent. For the coming year 1927-28 they have budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 120 lakhs. And now the question is whether it will be safe to spend all this amount on this project or for the matter of that on any other big irrigation work without an irrigation law. Hon. Members will remember that the detailed estimate for this project runs to six crores and 12 lakhs of rupees. The chances are, as we know in all matters like this, that this estimate will be considerably increased by the time the work is over. When my hon. Friend the Law Member who is a very cautious and learned lawyer introduced the Irrigation Bill in this Council on the 6th February 1924 the burden of his song as I take it rightly, was that without an irrigation law, it would not be possible to spend large sums of money on such projects and he referred to the Mettur project among them in particular. He stated that on former occasions in 1909 and in previous years when this Government approached the Government of India for loans to carry out irrigation projects the Government of India refused the loan on the solitary ground that it was unsafe to carry on irrigation projects like that without an irrigation law and if they did so they would be involved in embarrassing litigation. Again, the Law Member stated that this Government approached the Government of India with a similar request on another occasion and the same reply was given to them. Again the hon. the Law Member stated that he himself went in person, as we all know he did, and had personal consultation with the Viceroy and with the Members of the Government of India. Even then he had the same answer, namely, that without an irrigation law the Government of India would not be prepared to grant a loan. This he stated on 6th February 1924 in introducing the Bill. When the financial year was about to close in 1924 he stated that even though it would not be possible to pass the Bill before the close of the financial year, if a Bill was introduced and the principles thereof were accepted in this Council, the Government would approach the Government of India and tell them that this Council had committed itself to an irrigation law and induce them to grant the necessary loan. It was on that undertaking that we consented to the first reading of the Irrigation Bill in 1924.

“ That was so long ago as the beginning of 1924. The Irrigation Bill was accepted by this Council ; it was referred to a Select Committee ; the 1 p.m.

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Select Committee sat upon it and the Bill was considered by the Council and passed practically. I wish to know 'where is the irrigation law'?"

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Why did you vote for the postponement of the Bill?"

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"For this distinct reason. The members of our party which was then in power, were afraid that His Excellency the Governor would certify the taxation provisions if we passed them. That fact was pointed out by the hon. the Law Member himself. We did not want to give an opportunity to the head of the province or the Government to certify the taxation provisions without the consent and against the wishes of the Council. I may tell my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, that that was the special reason why the members of our party silenced the hon. the Revenue Member and had the Bill postponed."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"You are responsible for that."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"For that reason I believe the whole Council postponed the consideration of the Bill then. I did not want to go into that question now. I was forced to refer to it by my hon. Friend.

"My point is 'where is the irrigation law'?"

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"You are responsible for not having an irrigation law."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"I hope that my hon. Friend will not interrupt me any longer, not because I am not willing. I am capable of answering him and willing to answer him. My point is 'where is the irrigation law?' Where is safety for this Government and the Council in proceeding with a huge expenditure which is not in lakhs but in crores. I submit that it is a dangerous course. For want of time I do not want to quote the observations of the hon. the Law Member. He is a very cautious lawyer; he is a very eminent lawyer who will not proceed with a work without deeply pondering over it. On a subsequent occasion when the hon. Mr. Narasimha Raju asked the Government 'what would be the result of a large amount being incurred on the Mettur project without an irrigation law, my hon. Friend, the Law Member, answered on 28th October 1925 that only preliminary expenses were being incurred and that the Bill would become law before channels and distributaries are started with. Crores of rupees are being spent now on canals, etc. The hon. the Law Member said that before huge expenditure was incurred, the Bill would become law. The Bill has not become law. On another occasion, the hon. Member, the Raja of Ramnad interpellated the hon. Member specifically whether it was possible to carry out the Mettur project without an irrigation law. My hon. Friend was clear, as he always is, and said emphatically 'no; without an irrigation law it is not possible to carry on this work.' I do not want to dilate upon the point further. Such is the past history of this law. Is it desirable, is it safe to incur such huge expenditure—as I said, it is not in lakhs but in crores—without an irrigation law?"

"I pass on to another subject which is also financially a very important one because a large sum of money is provided in the budget. I refer to the

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re-modelling of the General Hospital in Madras. Here again, no detailed estimate has been prepared for this work unless it was done after we last met. In a note that was circulated then, it was clearly stated that no detailed estimate had been prepared. As it is entered in the budget, the rough estimate of expenditure for this work is Rs. 39 lakhs; they have provided for Rs. 2 lakhs for expenditure during the coming year. Here again, the chances are—Diwan Bahadur Arogyaswami Mudaliyar who is in charge of the department must know being a distinguished member of the Public Works Department—that the budget estimate will be very much exceeded. I will not be surprised if 39 lakhs of rupees become 70 lakhs.

“What is the past history of the project? They say it is an urgent one and an important one. I do not know how, all on a sudden, it has become an urgent one. The Government began to think of this project, changing the site of the hospital or additional buildings for the General Hospital in 1909; they wanted to remove completely the General Hospital to the Spur Tank. It was considered and was abandoned. An estimate for Rs. 74 lakhs was prepared. Then they wanted to construct the hospital near the Ordnance lines. They abandoned that proposal also. They wanted to construct a building in a portion of the Island ground. An estimate was prepared for Rs. 64 lakhs; that was abandoned. Then a committee was appointed consisting of the Superintendent of the General Hospital and a subordinate of the department and an engineer. The engineer was a layman; he did not know anything about the details of the Medical Department. They came to the conclusion that it was necessary to re-model the existing building at a cost of Rs. 39 lakhs. Curiously enough, the Chief Engineer has stated that existing medical wards are admirably adapted for the purpose. When the whole Presidency is crying for want of water, when water-supply is scanty, total absence of water is most keenly felt, when sanitary arrangements are not being carried out and when medical aid is not given to the people in the mufassal, I ask, Sir, ‘where is the need for spending the huge sum of Rs. 39 lakhs?’ If we pass the provision of Rs. 2 lakhs in the budget for this purpose, the House will stand committed to the expenditure of Rs. 39 lakhs. Where is the need to spend this money?

“As a matter of fact, Madras has excellent provision for giving medical aid to people. I wish to point out in the first place—the hon. Minister will correct me if I am wrong—that with this huge expenditure of Rs. 40 lakhs, not one additional bed is intended to be provided for. That is the result of my enquiries of the Medical authorities.

“There is an excellent hospital—another General Hospital—in the city, the Rayapuram Hospital, which was recently built in Sir Alexander Cardew’s time a Member of Government who was very fond of hospitals and who was very lavish with regard to them. It is an up-to-date hospital. It was built at a cost of several lakhs. There is another General Hospital, the Royapetta Hospital. Then there is the Women and Children’s Hospital which is considered one of the best kind in the East; there is the Ophthalmic Hospital; there are so many hospitals in the city. Without provision for any additional bed it is suggested that a sum of Rs. 45 lakhs should be spent. I submit that the scheme does not seem to be necessary. I do not know whether this Council will have an opportunity to reduce the provision for this scheme. I hope there will be an opportunity. If not, I ask my hon. Friend Mr. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar to remember this matter.

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"I wish to say a few words with reference to the reduction of court fees and stamps which has already been referred to by my hon. Friend Sir Patro. I submit, Sir, that it is quite necessary to reduce them. In the year 1922 when this Government was threatened—my hon. Friend Mr. Moir was then the Finance Secretary—with a deficit of about Rs. 106 lakhs, the party in power then agreed to the suggestion of the hon. Mr. Habib-ul-lah Sahib and Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar to raise the court fees and stamps."

* Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure in rising to congratulate my hon. Friend the Finance Member on the lucidity of his exposition of the budget. The air of optimism and the cheerful ease with which he took us through the budget were calculated to arouse the interest of the new comers which, it is hoped, will be sustained throughout when the House will subject the budget to detailed scrutiny."

"I pass on now to make a few observations on topics which, I have no doubt, will be of interest to this House. The topic I would venture to take up first is one of absorbing interest to all Indians—and if I may so put it to all Members of this House, officials as well as non-officials—the topic of Indianization. There is plenty of opportunity to give effect to this all-important principal. I wonder whether those who are in power are going to give this country and its people the benefit of those opportunities which immediately lie before them. I put special emphasis upon this aspect because the first Member of Council happens to be an Indian. If in his time, sufficient emphasis is not given to this topic, I wonder in whose time we will get sufficient attention attracted to it. I may venture to mention the higher appointments in the Police service. I wonder how far he has utilized his opportunities to indianize this department. There are the Inspector-General, the Deputy Inspectors-General and other high functionaries and in the Criminal Investigation Department you have a superior staff. If you want really to be benefited by the operations and activities of the higher officers in the Police and Criminal Investigation Department I think you have got to appoint Indians, as many as possible, to these higher appointments. Otherwise, even with an Indian presiding over the destinies of Indians, the charge that a foreign Government was administering the country with suspicion would continue. The results of the operations of the higher officers of the Criminal Investigation Department are not worth having unless we entrust those operations with the Indians themselves. While on this topic of Indianization I may as well call attention to other spheres within the control of the hon. the Law Member."

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"There is the biggest masonry project of the world now on, the Cauvery-Mettur project. There is that other costly scheme, the Pykara scheme. These two schemes offer splendid opportunities for Indianization in more senses than one. We have got highly qualified Indian Engineers and Superintending Engineers. Indians have not been found unfit to occupy the highest engineering posts in this country. The question is how far the Law Member has availed himself of the splendid opportunities afforded by these schemes in putting efficient, qualified, trustworthy Indians in charge of these projects. I am rather inclined to suspect that adequate scope is not afforded to Indians of worth and merit. I should like the hon. the Law Member particularly to utilize the opportunities during the rest of his tenure of office, to give effect to this important point. These two schemes will, I dare say, offer splendid opportunities as training ground for deserving

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Indians who are fit to be encouraged. It is a great difficulty in these days, whether in our own country or elsewhere, to find opportunities for practical training for our young men. We do not find it possible to persuade European millowners and factory owners to take Indians as probationers for training. Now, these two projects are projects carried on at enormous public expense. Are you going to avail yourself of them, or are you going to throw away the splendid opportunities that are in front of you, for giving practical training to as large a number of Indian young men as you possibly can? I think that is a topic on which too much emphasis cannot be laid.

"In respect to this matter, again, before taking leave of it, I would ask: as it is agreed that differences of opinion have arisen on important preliminary points and as it is likely that differences may yet arise, and as it is of the utmost importance that between one Engineer and another that may happen to be thrown together in carrying out these big schemes, co-ordination is necessary in order to solve possible differences of opinion as and when they arise, what is the machinery that the hon. the Law Member proposes to set up? Are we merely to get the advice of one Engineer, are we to be guided by one Engineer for a while, later on to discover that his advice has been unsound, and subsequently are we to turn to the advice of others whose advice when earlier it was expressed, did not attract attention? Would it not be wise to set up an outside expert body of Chief Engineers, say of the other provinces, whenever you are confronted with serious differences of opinion as amongst those on the spot, so that you can refer such points of difference to such an outside body of expert advisers and feel that every step has been taken to ensure a safe and steady advance, behind which you would not have to go again?

"Reverting now to the topic of Indianization in the Transferred departments, may I ask the Minister concerned why even in the department of Co-operation we are not having the full benefit of Indianization to the possible limit? Why should that department in its operations not be guided by an Indian? If even in the department of Co-operation we are not going to have the benefit of an Indian presiding over it, I wonder what other department would be considered safe and expedient to be presided over by an Indian. Taking again the Excise department, how many of the superior officers are Indians? How long is this state of affairs to continue? I understand that out of about eight Assistant Commissioners, there is only one Indian. What is it that stands in the way of the natives of this country getting appointed to a suitable proportion of posts even in these Transferred departments? It is now quite a long time after the introduction of the Reforms, and it is no use saying that we are yet in the beginning. It may be that we are yet in the beginning so far as the present Ministry is concerned; but that others have failed to do their duty in their time can hardly be regarded as an excuse for those who come after them, i.e., those who come after them because of the failure of those that have gone away. Perhaps this question of Indianization would be sufficiently solved only if we got rid of the system of recruitment and of the authorities that are now responsible for making recruitments and after we set up a Provincial Public Services Commission to take charge of all these appointments. The substitution of a Provincial Public Services Commission in the place of the present Staff Selection Board, is really a topic on which too much emphasis cannot be laid.

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“Passing on now to the department of Law and Justice, confining our attention for the moment to the highest court in the land, the High Court of Madras, I am afraid the methods in vogue in the matter of appointments to the High Court Bench are far from satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) In all departments of activity, special expert knowledge and training are deemed to be of great importance. In the domain of law alone, would you make an exception? Is it not rather a sphere where much more than in other spheres or departments expert knowledge is of the highest value and practical experience and training are of the greatest advantage? We no doubt are aware of the embarrassments and handicaps of the statutory law on the subject in respect of which the place is not this House where we have to seek redress; but why need we add to those embarrassments and difficulties others of our own making? This is essentially a sphere of appointments where, if at all efficiency and nothing but the utmost efficiency should be the proper test and the criterion.”

(At this stage the Secretary sounded the gong and the Member resumed his seat)

* Mr. K. ABDUL HYE SAHIB :—“Mr. President, Sir, I am one of those who sympathise with the hon. the Finance Member regarding the Provincial Budget which has been placed before us this morning for discussion. At the same time, Sir, I must point out that when presenting the Budget, the axe of retrenchment has not been properly applied to certain heads of expenditure. For instance, Sir, in the Jail department, there has been criticism in previous years by this House that the expenditure on that department was being kept very high and it has been urged that it should be cut down. And in the case of certain jails, for instance the Alipore jail, it was urged on more than one occasion that the jail was quite unnecessary and that it might be abolished. It was also urged that a general amnesty might be granted to all the Mappilla convicts and only those who were convicted of grave offences might be retained, releasing all those who were convicted of minor or small offences. If that is done, I think Government will not only do justice, but on the other hand, the large expenditure on maintaining that jail will itself be saved.

“Coming to the transferred side, I am glad, however, that a decent amount has been allotted for giving grants to local bodies, because this grant may be utilized for improving the scale of pay that has been sanctioned for elementary teachers but which the local bodies could not give effect to, because they had not got enough funds; with the result that the poor teacher has to rot on a salary of Rs. 14 or Rs. 15.

“And what amount of work can these teachers turn out with their scanty salary is a thing to be imagined. Even now, it is not too late. The Government might, at this juncture, go to their rescue and earn the gratitude of the starving school-masters by bearing a reasonable portion of the additional expenditure involved if the local boards were to give effect to the sanctioned progressive scale which alone is likely to create the much-desired effect and induce them to devote their whole time for their work. The grant-in-aid now paid to aided schools being too insignificant for any real improvement, it does not seem possible either to compel the aided school-master to devote his undivided attention to school work or to place him beyond temptations. Only an early revision of the scale can mend matters.

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[Mr. K. Abdul Hye Sahib]

"The educational survey made during the past few years was no doubt a step in the right direction, but the prescription of the minimum population of 500 as the basis for opening Local Fund schools irrespective of other considerations, placed an undue restriction on Muhammadan elementary education, by shutting out a large number of deserving Muhammadan villages. Even now it is not too late for prescribing a separate minimum of strength for Muhammadan schools with a view to make local boards open a decent number of Urdu Board elementary schools.

"The importance attached to vernaculars which sooner or later will compulsorily be made the medium of instruction in the High School classes, placed the axe at the very root of Muhammadan higher education which is already backward. The Muhammadan boys will always form a minority and will have therefore either to give up their mother tongue in favour of the district vernacular and thereby add to their stock of already existing miseries, or give up their education altogether.

"The only remedy for this drawback lies in starting Urdu High and Secondary schools in some of the districts where there is a demand for the same. The two existing secondary schools at Cudappah and Nandyal within my constituency for example might be converted into Urdu High schools. I would also suggest that in the best interests of Muhammadan education, an inspector of schools might be appointed solely to look after Muhammadan education. It is a serious question and it behoves Government to seriously consider the problem, so that the future Muhammadan education is not jeopardised by the introduction of vernaculars as the medium of instruction to the exclusion of Urdu which is our mother tongue. It is therefore, I suggest, that some officer of the superior cadre as the District Educational Officer may be appointed, particularly to watch the progress of Muslim education.

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"The pace with which female education is progressing in our midst is too well known to need any special mention by means of statistics. The case of Muhammadan girls' education is still more appalling. It is therefore my well considered opinion that unless and until one subordinate officer of every girls' circle is placed under the sole charge of Muhammadan girls' schools in that circle as in the case of Muhammadan boys' schools, there is absolutely no hope for the education of the Muhammadan girls in the near future.

"There is another serious matter which I wish to place before the House, namely, the recent failure on the part of some Muhammadans to get themselves elected to the Senates of the Madras and Andhra universities, which must serve among others as an eye-opener to all who espouse the cause of mixed electorates in preference to separate electorates on all statutory bodies like the universities and the local boards where the much abused and irresponsible nominations still continue to exist. When once the principles of separate elections were conceded in the Imperial and local Legislative Councils as essential for our very existence, why not the same principles be conceded to in the case of other statutory bodies? Some of my hon. Friends may not like that I should make a request like this, but it is a thing which affects our very existence and so I request the hon. the Chief Minister to bear this request in mind at the time of revising the Local Boards Act."

The House adjourned for lunch at 1-30 p.m.

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After Lunch (2-15 p.m.).

*Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA :—“ Sir, I wish I were called upon to speak some time later, for in making the few observations that I desire to make now, I have unfortunately to address empty benches on the other side. My remarks are mainly based on the budget speech of the hon. the Finance Member. Sir, our revenues have a very difficult task. They have to provide for a double diarchy, central and local on the one hand and transferred and reserved on the other. The realization of the former generally depends on an abundant or a normal monsoon but the retention of it this year at least, to a great extent, depends upon the passing of the 18d. ratio by the Delhi Assembly. The conditions existing at present all over the Presidency are gloomy. There is to be not only remission of taxation but also postponement of the kists. The hon. the Finance Member proposes to get over this difficulty by suggesting three methods. The first one which suggests itself to him is to utilize the savings made by the poor ryots during the last four normal years. The second one is to draw on the Famine Insurance Fund and the third is to request the various departments to adjust the development of their new programmes to the emergent need of providing labour for as many people as possible. Sir, these may be the usual official methods. My request to the hon. the Finance Member is to reverse the order, in fact to reserve the poor ryot for the last feed for he is the man who has to find money under Land Revenue and Excise. The last portion of the speech of the hon. the Finance Member ran thus: ‘ Given our own revenues, we can contemplate a noteworthy and continuous development of our ameliorative programmes.’ A pious wish made by almost every Finance Member in all the presidencies affected by the Meston Award. Sir, it can only happen if the Assembly is going to pass the 18d. ratio. I should like to know from the hon. Member what will be his remedy if the Assembly is going to throw out the 18d. ratio. Sir, unfortunately the hon. the Finance Member is not here to answer my question. My own apprehension is that his contemplation will be one of eating grass or feeding on tails. The hon. the Finance Member in his magnificent budget speech has made some fine observations and if he acts on them he will save our Province from a financial crisis. The first of them is: ‘ to maintain our establishment on their existing scale will absorb much of our annual growth of revenues’. That is the first home truth. The next is: ‘ While they look to new worlds to conquer, we have to find the means to liquidate their victories’. This is another home truth. The third one is: ‘ The eye of each of our departments is larger than its digestive apparatus’. Certainly this abnormal development is always associated with a micro-cephalic head and the proper remedy is for the hon. the Finance Member to supply each one of these departments with a blue pencil with brains. Sir, another desirable thing will be for a Russian eye-surgeon to transplant Chinese eye-balls on them. If that is difficult, it will be for the hon. the Finance Member to indent on the hon. the Minister for Excise for some opium for it has the rapid effect of contracting the pupil of the eye of any size. It has also the marvellous effect of restricting the field of vision. Sir, when we find that the income is uncertain and inelastic, the other remedy is to turn our attention to the expenditure. But unfortunately, under the new Reforms, one-third of the whole expenditure is non-votable. These reforms which are supposed to teach us self-Government, have in their seventh year now not taught us anything so far as self-Government

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is concerned. They have not taught us to compel the Government to revise their policy of expenditure or go in for more retrenchment in their topheavy system of administration. They have taught us to be extravagant; they have taught us to demand fat salaries. They have taught us to make tall and vague speeches; they have taught us to gather public addresses by the basketful. Everywhere the demand is for prohibition, for portable water-supply and for drainage. But the usual evasive and the only reply is 'will be considered when the funds permit'. Sir, the funds are all absorbed by the services. And the salaries drawn during the last six years by the Members of Government and their over-manned services would have been sufficient to provide many towns in the mufassal with portable water-supply. Sir, as things stand to-day, the Secretaries to the Ministers are doing the work of the Ministers while the latter are doing the talking in the country and drawing the salaries of Prime Ministers. If the Ministers mean business, they must assume a real control over the departments under them; they must overhaul their departments. They must realize that blocks of wood are out of place in a steel frame; a steel frame can only be worked by hard steel, what they call tool steel in America. Every mother office, whether it be at Newington, Nungumbakam, Egmore or Chepauk, has a grandmother office right down here in the Secretariat. What a wasteful duplication! Sir, there are now some officers who are drawing double pay. There are instances where special posts are created for redundant officers. Is that going to be the guiding policy of our Ministers? Do they want public support for this sort of work? Then again, Sir, we are having too many I.C.S. officers in Madras. Only yesterday or the day before, when the Council in Bombay demanded a reduction of their I.C.S. officers, the Finance Member there who happens to be an Indian reminded them that the number in Bombay was shorter than that in Madras by 48 and also pointed out to the Council that an I.C.S. officer in Bombay managed 900 square miles while his brother in Madras was only able to manage 800."

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR:—"Population?"

Dr. B. S. MALLAYYA:—"I am sorry, Sir, that the population does not make much difference. But they are more rowdy down there (laughter), with their mill riots, hill tribes, Mahrattas, every one of whom is warlike and ready to attack anybody. Then again, Sir, they are spending four annas six pies for collecting a rupee on the revenue side. A wasteful expenditure which is to be criticised rather severely. Mr. Henry Ford himself will have to close down his business if his bill collectors demanded for them 28 per cent of his collections. Coming to the Police department again, I find it is progressively increasing in expenditure. Sir, after all, the people in our Presidency are quite docile and law-abiding more than in any other part of India. A ten per cent cut may conveniently be made here, but unfortunately the hon. the Law Member is not here. Coming to forests, before the Reforms, the forests were yielding 11 lakhs of surplus revenue to the general funds. Now, I find, Sir, that forests are feeding on themselves and the department seems to exist for the officers. There are certain other departments which can bear cuts of a similar amount, but I shall refer to them when the time comes for the Council to go into the demands in detail. As my time is limited, I will confine myself to only one item and that relating to His Excellency's body guards. This used to be much in evidence before and not after the arrival of the present Governor and it used to remind us of the grandeur, pomp and splendour of the Great Moghuls. It used to

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have a riding school before where many of the engineering officers used to take their lessons. I think it does not exist now. There is no demand for riding nowadays. In fact, these are flying days. I think, Sir, it was the first Lord Goschen who once said: 'The thing needed above everything is cash.' Sir, if we cash the Guards, the money released can be utilized for building a Children's Hospital in Madras. Babies are dying here by the million and it will be a magnificent monument of His Excellency's generous act; that will also be an everlasting memorial of His Excellency's rule in this Presidency besides being a boon for the babies born and to be born in Madras."

2-30

P.M.

* Mr. T. U. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, as a Member of the Finance Committee of 1921-22 and one of the Members of the deputation I went with the hon. Mr. Moir, then the Finance Secretary, on a forlorn expedition to Delhi to plead for at least a reduction in the provincial contribution payable by Madras to the Central Government, but we returned without having got any reduction. It is a great satisfaction now after a period of five years to know that at least the provincial contribution has been remitted. Let me hope that the fears of the formidable lions whose roar the hon. the Finance Member is afraid of will be silenced and they will see the justice of our cause and not throw obstacles in the way of our retaining the concession extended to us by the Government of India. Owing to the failure of the monsoons the seasonal prospects are gloomy and a heavy fall in the revenue in the coming year with famine conditions has to be anticipated. The ray of hope that cheers and sustains us is this announcement of the remission of the provincial contribution. Sir, let me recall the circumstances under which that deputation went to Delhi. We anticipated a deficit of more than a crore of rupees and the Finance Committee was at its wit's end to find out the ways and means of meeting it. Very valuable schemes for which moneys were required were dropped and we were compelled to tax justice and we succeeded in getting the Council agree in taxing justice. We increased the stamp and court-fee revenue. We intended to tax amusements, but seeing that the yield from such a tax would be very little, we then abandoned it; but the second Council enabled local bodies by an enactment to tax amusements and the provincial Government got rid of the odium. We also then contemplated taxing betel leaves and tobacco. However some of these proposals for taxation had to be given up as the hope of getting some revenue to meet the deficit was not very cheerful. Now, Sir, we have this iniquitous impost remitted and we have the prospect of getting Rs. 165 lakhs for our own use now. What is it that we should do with it now? That is the question. There are two ways which suggested themselves to me and I would place them before the House. One is in doing justice and the other is in trying to see that the moral, intellectual and material advancement of the people of this Presidency is assured. In the matter of justice, I am sure it will not be denied by any section of this House that the justice we get is tardy and needlessly costly. (Hear, hear.) No doubt, there were some inequalities in the old Court Fees Act which to a certain extent the new Act has remedied. But the new Act has in many respects enhanced court-fees not for the purpose of reducing the inequalities but merely for the purpose of finding revenue. You will see from the budget presented that under the head of Justice and of Stamp revenue—when you take the Judicial stamps alone—there is a considerable surplus. Are we going to have revenue by taxing poor clients and making justice costly. (Hear, hear.) I think it will be the sheerest piece of justice—I use the

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term justice in its ordinary etymological sense—that we go back, if not the whole way, at least a great way to the original position. I remember the speech of the hon. the Law Member on the last occasion; I read it this morning and it is to the effect that certain portions of the present Court-Fees Act will be retained. By all means let it be so, but have a committee of people who are conversant with the matter so that the matter may be revised and the court-fees which press so very hard on the people now may be reduced to reasonable proportions. It would be really inadmissible and unreasonable to say that ex parte suits which take up not even five minutes time should be taxed as heavily as suits of declaratory or other character which consume weeks and months in their trial. In regard to the non-judicial stamps also, the matter deserves attention from various points of view. It is not merely from the ordinary rural transactions by way of sales and mortgages and other things which take place that we consent to impose an additional taxation and take money for our revenues. But look at another aspect of the matter. The stamps have unfortunately been assigned under law as a provincial revenue. The sooner the Council thinks of parting with it to the Central Government the better it would be in the interests of the administration of justice as also in the interests of commerce. Each Presidency has amended its stamp laws, and all sorts of difficulties have arisen. There is direct taxation as well as indirect taxation. The direct taxation is in the matter of enhancement, and the indirect taxation oftentimes comes in the matter of validating certain documents in other provinces and in this Presidency. There are also other difficulties in our own Presidency that must be set at rest. I speak from experience. It would be a great act of convenience to the public if an arrangement is come to between the Native States and British India or British provinces for unifying the system of stamp receipts. Further there is considerable commercial intercourse between South India and the far east, our far east, that is, the Straits Settlements, Malaya Peninsula, Burma, Ceylon and other countries between which and our Presidency there is considerable trade going on. There must be one system of stamps by which the negotiable instruments at least may be easily held valid in one portion of the country and another. Especially, you will remember that a man may make an instrument anywhere but in the matter of endorsement which may take place in another country and then the instrument will have to go back to the place of its birth. All sorts of difficulties occur. While on this point of the administration of justice let me add a word with reference to the way in which the administration of the estates of insolvent debtors is now carried on. There is an official assignee and there are also official receivers in the mufassal. Some very big mercantile firms which through misfortune have failed, and when they go through the Insolvency court, it would be to the great advantage of all the parties concerned if the insolvent debtor and some of the principal creditors are consulted as to the personnel of the agency to administer the estate. Recently in the Ramnad district we went through a tale of misfortune. We saw how a very well known commercial house found themselves in difficulties. My friend the Zamindar of Devakottai will bear testimony to what I say, viz., that if the administration is in the hands of some gentlemen of the community who know the peculiarities of the trade, the administration will not only not suffer but will be to the largest interests of the largest number of the creditors concerned.

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"Then in the matter of the disposal of cases and other miscellaneous works I already mentioned that there has been also tardy administration of justice. No doubt considerable amount of attention has recently been paid to this matter and in the present year's Budget you will see that any number of additional sub-judges have been provided. There are as many sub-judges now I believe as there were district munsifs in the previous days. Probably the increase in the volume of litigation may account for it, but however it is a strange phenomenon. Something in the way of a careful arrangement in the matter of posting these judicial officers and the avoidance of frequent shiftings will go a great way towards remedying this delay.

"Then there is one subject about which there may be differences of opinion particularly in Madras, as I happen to be a member of the mufassal bar and cannot claim personal knowledge of the position in Madras. In the mufassal we have not derived as much advantage from the multitude of law reports and the number of cases which are promiscuously reported therein. I believe and I hope the mufassal members at least will corroborate me that this present-day enormous law reporting has not tended to a proper administration of justice either in quality or in quantity. I may say that our useful literature has not multiplied but the law reports have multiplied. This is a phenomenon. Mr. President, it is up to this Council to see that you place in the hands of the judiciary, the bench and the bar, facilities for correctly interpreting law. But to cite large number of cases upon facts and law and doubtful cases is not really helping them. I hope the hon. the Law Member will kindly look into this matter. There is another aspect of the present-day system which also may be referred to. Now frequently sub-judges are going as district judges and the number of district judges' places now held by the sub-judges has increased. It is necessary at least that the subordinate judges at the headquarters are always invested with sessions powers so that they may hear and dispose of sessions cases and so that at almost the end of their career, when they occupy a district court bench, they may not find that the sessions trial is really a burden to them. One more remark on this point and that is this, and I venture to state it with all hope though with some diffidence. The monopoly of legal talent is not exhausted at or confined only to the city of Madras and in the recruitment which may be made to the higher branches of the judicial service including the High Court bench let me hope that the mufassal will be remembered. I can assure you, Sir, Mr. President, that there are very many brilliant lawyers in the mufassal who are certainly in a position to do justice to any office that may be entrusted to them in the judicial line. (Hear, hear.)

"Now, Sir, going to the other matter I want to place before the House that a very decent fraction of this amount that we have now got may be devoted to the improvement of the moral, intellectual and material advancement of the people of this country. A number of Members of the House has spoken about excise. It is a Transferred subject but at the same time it is one of the most peculiar subjects because next to land revenue the excise revenue is the biggest. I hope the Reserved half of the Government who claim credit for their happy family traditions with the Transferred half will infuse sufficient courage in the new Ministers to think that the loss of revenue is nothing, but the improvement of the morality of the people is everything (Hear, hear) and that both halves will combine for finding the necessary

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resources to recoup the loss and to carry on the administration. It should not be by the sale of poison and the degradation of human nature that any revenue should be raised even for an angelic purpose. Therefore I expect both halves of the Government to put their heads together, the Reserved half not thinking that it is not its duty. Let us hope that both the halves will combine and give effect to this principle unanimously. I do not think there can be two opinions on this point and I think it is unnecessary to elaborate further. On the question of education, it is said that a considerable improvement has taken place in the manner and method of instruction that are pursued and in the funds that are being allotted to education in progressive amounts. But let me put one question. What is the improvement in the national educational asset. I do not see that the increase in the number of people who have got education of all sorts and of every sort is alone a blessing to the country. But let me ask again what is the criterion upon which the advancement of the country in the domain of knowledge is to be gauged? How have we acquired knowledge? It is only by that acquisition and by that process of the acquisition of knowledge by which knowledge can be readily made available to the vast bulk of the people who may not have the blessing of English education that we can say we have a real advancement in the education of the country. What is the value of merely saying 'national education' unless you do not improve the nation's language, unless you do not improve the medium of the nation's language for the purpose of acquiring knowledge so that it may be the means by which diffusion of knowledge may be effected."

(Here the gong was sounded and the speaker resumed his seat.)

* **MR. D. NARAYANA RAJU :—**"Mr. President, Sir, in these discussions on the budget it is the usual practice of this House to congratulate the Members on the Treasury Bench for their achievements, if any, or to find fault with them for their failures. In this respect as in several others perhaps we are following the practice of Parliaments in the free countries of the world.

"Where the legislature has really got control over the executive, where it can prescribe limits and impose restrictions on the activities of the executive, of course, these appreciations and criticisms have a meaning. But here the Legislature is not in a position to control the activities of the executive. On the other hand, the executive is in a position to impose its will upon the Legislature. Under these circumstances to follow the practice of Parliaments in this budget discussion is a mockery. To understand the false position of this House we have only to step outside and see the deep wrongs and injustices which the people are suffering from under this present system of Government. Those wrongs and injustices are being suffered by the people in spite of the best efforts of their representatives in this House year in and year out. To illustrate my point, I shall take one or two instances from the district of West Gōdāvari which I have the honour to represent in this House. The hon. the Finance Member in explaining in his budget speech the increase of revenue in 1925-26 was pleased to allude to the collection of inclusion fee in the districts of West Gōdāvari and Kistna amounting to 13 lakhs. Some amount was collected in the previous year and some in the year subsequent. The total collections in the district of West Gōdāvari alone must come to a big figure. This big figure of these large collections by way of inclusion fees amounting to several lakhs gives an idea of the extent of land newly included in the ayacut. But naturally

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when these lands were included people expected that irrigation facilities will be provided for these lands. But nothing of the kind was done. Even before these lands were included in the ayacut, irrigation facilities in the Gōdāvari Western delta were inadequate. The hon. the Law Member admitted even in the year 1924 in answer to a question put on the subject that the head sluice at Vidyeeswaram did not allow adequate supply of water to Gōdāvari Western delta. The head sluice is the only source from which it receives its supply of water. That was even in the year 1924. To those inadequate facilities of irrigation a very heavy burden is imposed by adding large tracts to the ayacut. Of course, at the time when these collections were made they were told that further irrigation facilities and drainage improvements will be effected in consideration of the collection of these inclusion fees. The inclusion fee was collected at the rate of Rs. 25 per acre and the lands were newly included in the ayacut. But no such facilities were provided for. Of course, I searched the budget to see if any provision is made for additional irrigation facilities in the Western Gōdāvari delta. Nothing of the kind was done. On the other hand, even the normal usual maintenance charges and charges for the normal improvements and extensions have been cut down. I need not refer to the figures for the time before me is very short. And to add to these there is the unfortunate further circumstance, viz., these lands that are newly included in the ayacut have to pay what is known as the inducement fee of one rupee per acre. I must just explain it a bit. At the time of the last resettlement Government induced the ryots to register their lands under permanent wet. But where irrigation facilities were inadequate or wanting the people refused to get their lands registered as permanent wet and they said they would pay the usual water-rate whenever they took water or raised wet crops on their lands. Then Government classed these as optional wets. In these optional wet lands whenever the ryots raised wet crops Government was charging one rupee per acre extra known as inducement fee. Of course, this is the fee imposed on the option exercised by the ryot. This came to be known as the inducement fee because it was intended to serve as an inducement to get the ryots register their lands as wet. But recently, three years back most of these optional wet lands were included in the ayacut on the payment of the inclusion fee of Rs. 25 per acre. This was not willingly paid by the ryots. This was extracted from them as if it were payment of a penalty. There is no longer any option left. The lands were compulsorily registered as permanent wet in the ayacut. This inducement fee is still being collected though there is no option allowed to the ryot. This was brought to the notice of the Government in several ways but in spite of the efforts of the people and their representatives it has not been discontinued as yet. Of course, it is not this one rupee per acre alone that is collected. There is the usual water-rate and in addition Rs. 1-8-0 per acre which represents the interest on the inducement fee collected. The interest of Rs. 1-8-0 plus Re. 1 comes to Rs. 2-8-0 per acre and this is paid in addition to the usual water tax on these lands. Now, Sir, in view of these collections and in consideration of these extra penalties the Government never took care to provide additional facilities for these lands. To take a typical example I shall refer to one village—Kalavapudi. In this village before inclusion fee came in, only 400 acres were under wet ayacut. In addition to these 400, 1,200 acres were included in the ayacut and that single village had to pay an inducement fee of Rs. 25,000. Then, Sir, the irrigation fee was

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collected some three years ago but no irrigation facilities were provided. Such injustices as these are only possible under the present irresponsible system of Government. That is my theme. Of course, their irresponsibility is only equalled by their all comprehensive powers. They have got power to create offices and they exercise that power very freely. Once they have got that power they are very careful not to make their officers very few nor their salaries and pensions meagre. In this Gōdāvari Western delta they were appointing officers under some pretext or other. For the last nearly 15 or 20 years every year there was some extra establishment or other in this West Gōdāvari district. They were known as special duty establishments. There was the special duty establishment to investigate the Koleru project. Then there was the special duty establishment for remodelling the canal system. Then there is the special duty establishment at present working for localizing the second crop zone and so on. But, as a result of these special duty establishments nothing good has come so far. Of course, Government must have spent lakhs after lakhs on these establishments. But did their labours bring any good to the people? Nothing, next to nothing I can say. Of course, they have worked for years and there were reports and reports and they were all lying idle in the Secretariat. And now, Sir, to illustrate how the welfare and interests of the masses of this country are cared for or promoted under this system of Government I shall just take another instance. I refer to the dealings of the Government with regard to the charitable association at Ellore known as the Young Men's Indian Association. It was doing immense social and educational service in the locality. It was started so long ago as 1904. It has got a good library which compares favourably with any of our libraries in the Andhra Desa. It has got about 8,000 volumes in its library. Its membership is 250 and the average daily attendance of visitors is 150. It was doing very good service to the people of the locality without distinction of caste or creed. All people are allowed to make use of the library including untouchables. Seeing the usefulness of the institution the municipality of Ellore came forward and offered a building site. It offered nearly 2,000 yards of building site under a permanent lease. Under the terms of the lease the association has to pay an annual rental of Rs. 100 to the municipality in addition to the amount of ground rent which will be fixed by Government. Of course the municipality as well as the association were under the belief that Government would fix the usual ground rent at the rate of Rs. 6-4-0 per acre as is generally done in the case of charitable and educational institutions. Under the belief that Government is going to fix only a nominal ground rent as a matter of course, Mr. Mothay Ganga Razu, the merchant prince of Ellore, came forward to raise a building on the site at his own cost."

(Here the gong sounded and the Member resumed his seat.)

* Mrs. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI:—"Mr. President, I have to thank the hon. Finance Member for the Budget he has presented the other day to this Council, in which I note with pleasure the provisions made for new schemes of expenditure, both recurring and non-recurring, for the good of the people of this Presidency to the extent of 81 lakhs from the current revised revenues. 3 p.m.

"The items that give me most delight are those relating to the Medical Department, such as—

- (i) the construction of a hostel for the lady students in the Madras Medical College;

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- (ii) the remodelling of the General Hospital, Madras ;
- (iii) the construction of a new headquarters hospital at Madura ;
- (iv) a women and children hospital at Salem ;
- (v) the organization of a nose, throat, ear department in the Madras General Hospital.

“ Regarding the last item, I beg to submit that the special work of this particular department may be brought into operation without any delay even from the 1st of April, instead of September as the special officer intended for that department has already returned from England and as there is also an urgent demand for that special kind of medical relief in this Presidency.

“ Again, Sir, while I find provision made newly for the appointment of a lecturer on venereal diseases in the Medical College, Madras, I am unable to trace in the budget any provision for the appointment of a lady doctor to attend on the female patients that go to the General Hospital, who are in most cases the innocent victims of such diseases.

“ Considering the very wide prevalence of venereal diseases in this country (as was discovered by Dr. Lees and Mrs. Rolfe, who have said that it is four times more prevalent here in India than in Great Britain and 50 to 60 per cent of child blindness and deafness and mental deficiency is attributable to this infection), considering the very serious, and far-reaching consequences of the disease on the individual, his family and on the race, I wish proper facilities are created without any further delay in every hospital for free, voluntary and confidential treatment of infected individuals, as it is done in the other civilized countries where as a result of such facilities, the disease has been reduced by 50 per cent within the last few years.

“ Again, I feel sorry to note that no provision has been made in the budget for the construction and equipment of a special hospital in the City of Madras, which, as you all know, is a long needed and a much felt want.

“ Sir, with a death rate of 300 per 1,000 infants in Madras as compared with 69 per 1,000 in England and Wales, in other words, 30 out of every 100 born in Madras never see their first birth day and what is still more deplorable with a higher morbidity rate behind, by which those that survive are weakened for life, which must necessarily lower the mental and physical power of the nation, as a whole ; in the face of such unpleasant facts staring at our face, we have not yet seriously thought of creating a hospital for our children. By the by I may say we have a few hospitals for adult men and women, some for lunatics, some hospitals for animals too. None so far for the care and treatment of the most precious, and the most valuable of the human material, the very source of the nation, I mean our infants, when their need is not merely imaginary, but really urgent and great. I insist for a special hospital for children, because the child study is entirely a different one from that of the adult as was so very well expressed by no less an authority than Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and of the Board of Education, London, “ that child is not merely a diminutive adult requiring similar study to that of the adult. The child constitutes a different kind of problem in Physiology, in medical education and in practice and the subject should receive particular attention. The principles of physiology are the same in the dog, monkey and man ; but the problems raised are different.”

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"Again Dr. Hutchisson, an eminent physician now living, under whom I had the pleasure of working for some time, and a specialist on diseases of children, admits that this is a subject which is apt to be neglected in the General Hospital for various reasons which I have no time to dilate upon now; hence, Sir, in the absence of special facilities, such as a special hospital for children, a specialized staff to teach and a sufficient clinical material to work upon, the graduates of our university know almost next to nothing of this most important branch of medicine. And no wonder, then, the infant mortality rate is not appreciably decreased, in spite of all our attempts in other directions.

"In other civilized countries, above all other Reforms, the recent advance in Pediatrics and the rational treatment of sick infants by the average physician, has contributed in no small measure to the reduction in infant mortality.

"From the press communiqué, dated 30th March 1926, Fort St. George, Local Self-Government Department, it will be seen that there was a proposal to build a hospital for children in commemoration of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Madras and some money was collected. Under the fear that the proposed number of 104 beds were too many for this city the scheme was given up and the money was diverted for the building of a tuberculosis children ward attached to the Tuberculosis Hospital.

"While I submit that tuberculosis is only one of the many diseases affecting children I am firmly of opinion that a General Hospital dealing with all diseases of children is an absolute necessity and from the intimate knowledge I possess of the mother and the children of this city that not 104 beds but even four times that number will be easily filled up, if only the hospital shows good work. Still if there is any such fear, let them make a modest beginning and start, say, with 40 or 50 beds.

"Sir, I have a word to say regarding the medical inspection of pupils in schools and colleges. No doubt, Government has made it compulsory in secondary schools for boys for which we feel thankful. But it should rapidly be extended to elementary pupils and girls as well. Again I feel, this being an important phase of preventive medicine that proper and adequate provision should be made for periodic regular medical inspection of school pupils both primary, secondary boys and girls. The inspection should be conducted by a specially trained staff and proper facilities for a successful inspection and treatment should be created by the employment of lady doctors for girl pupils whenever possible, and by the establishment of school clinics to make the system more effective, because experience of other countries in this direction has taught us that by looking after the health of the school-child, the onset of many a serious adult disease could be prevented, and thus the foundation for a healthy and vigorous manhood and womanhood of the country may be laid very early in life.

"I should also like very respectfully to invite the attention of the Members of the Government that the additions and improvements proposed in connexion with the Government Victoria Hospital for Women, to provide for more accommodation for patients and to make it an up-to-date teaching institution for women students attending the hospital do not find a place in the budget for the year 1927-28. From the press communiqué from the

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Local Self-Government (the Public Health Department, January 1926), it will be seen that the scheme for the improvement of the Victoria Gosha Hospital for Women was placed before the Finance Committee and I do not see any reason why it has not found a place in the budget for the year 1927-28 in spite of the very urgent nature of the work.

"One word on adult female education in this Presidency will not be out of place. Considering the low percentage of literacy among women and a still lower percentage of the girls attending the secondary schools (only 13 girls out of 10,000 receive the benefit of secondary education), I request the Government to encourage the opening of more secondary schools for girls in the mufassal, wherever possible. Again, with the spread of enlightenment and education among the women of this presidency, private philanthropic institutions manned by women to help destitute women and widows of over school age and to train them so as to enable them to earn their livelihood as vocational teachers, as nurses, as music and vernacular teachers, such as the Women's Home of Service, Mylapore, and Sri Sarada Niketanam of Guntur in existence, and more are likely to come into existence. So, I respectfully urge on the attention of the Government that such institutions should be made eligible for Government grants even though they do not conform to the prescribed educational rules, if the Government is convinced of the usefulness of such institutions. I feel that only through such a liberal policy adopted by Government in the matter of female education the stigma of only 2 per cent female literacy will be removed without taxing too much the purse of the Government. Before I finish I very humbly submit that the Members of the Government responsible for all the departments will make a ready and willing response to all the just demands made in my speech."

* Mr. C. GOPALA MENON :—"Mr. President, Sir, when we consider the budget estimate for 1926-27 we now realize that from the revised estimate of the same year we were erring unduly on the side of caution. The revenue was under-estimated by Rs. 20 lakhs and the expenditure was over-estimated by Rs. 48 lakhs. These are not very narrow margins in a Presidency budget. The result is that we have got a surplus of 36.22 lakhs which we did not know how to utilize. I do not know if the hon. the Finance Member has a similar surprise for us up his sleeve with regard to his figures for 1927-28. There seems to be much more than appears on the face of the budget. For I find in 1926-27 we budgeted for a deficit of Rs. 31 lakhs, whereas we had a surplus of Rs. 36 lakhs. In 1925-26 we budgeted for a revenue surplus of Rs. 2 lakhs, and the budget estimates show Rs. 98 lakhs, while the actuals show a surplus of 98.37 lakhs. This is on account of want of a proper and systematic policy in the matter of budgeting.

"With regard to the revised estimate for the current year, I should like to add that I am not prepared to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member in the manner with which he has arrived at a surplus. During the course of the last budget debate, we congratulated ourselves on the progressive policy we pursued by asking for an allotment of Rs. 70 lakhs for the departments of public utility, and to-day we find that the lapses in those departments such as Civil Works, Education, Public Health and Industries are very heavy and are extremely disappointing. I find a lapse of Rs. 21.5 lakhs in Civil Works, Rs. 6.70 lakhs in Education, Rs. 4.54 in Public

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Health and nearly a lakh of rupees in Industries, and the reason given by the hon. the Finance Member for this heavy lapse in Civil Works is that there is no progress made in opening schools by local bodies and that they relate to buildings for which grants were provided. If the local bodies are unable to find 50 per cent of the money, that is a sum which is equal to the grant which the Government propose to give, and if they cannot utilize all the grants, why not change the policy? When we have got enough money, why not reduce the proportion to be contributed by the local bodies to one-third, the Government paying the remaining two-thirds? That is the only way of helping the local bodies. Of course, we want economy in public expenditure, but economy should be consistent with the efficiency of departments of public utility.

“ Another thing which I have to bring to the notice of the hon. the Finance Member is the restricting of our expenditure in proportion to the revenue realized. Since the Reform days, that is 1920-21, our revenue has grown from 1,560 lakhs to 1,654 lakhs, an increase of only 94 lakhs, while the expenditure has risen from 1,130 lakhs to 1,724 lakhs, that is, an increase of 594 lakhs. It may be argued that if we want to enjoy the benefits of democratic principles of administration, the country has to incur an abnormally high expenditure. But I may submit that this increase in expenditure is not proportionate to the revenue realized. 3-15 p.m.

“ Now, turning to the revenue side and looking back on the year that has immediately gone by, there are particular departments in which the increase of revenue must alarm the hon. Members of this House. I refer to the excise revenue. This does not indicate the policy adumbrated by the party in power until recently. In spite of the preventive measures adopted by the ex-Excise Minister, this increase in the excise revenue is demoralizing in its effect in this way, that we learn to depend on the excise revenue as an integral part of the budget; and the day of total prohibition, which is our goal, can never be reached at this rate. It is a matter of consolation to learn that the policy of the party in power is prohibition by definite stages. That was what the hon. the Development Minister said at Rajahmundry. But this is in contrast to the pronouncement of the hon. Minister for Excise. He pointed out that the difficulty of achieving prohibition lies in the fact that the people of the country have not carried on propaganda against the traffic in liquor. He said that in the United States prohibition has been achieved by people working against drink traffic in 70 years' time, and unless the people here carried on propaganda work against drink it will be difficult for the Minister to adopt any prohibition policy. He also mentioned that traffic in drink was a bad thing and nothing would deter him from adopting a policy of prohibition. The question is if he finds that the traffic in liquor is bad, why should he tolerate the revenue derived from that source? I hope, I may, in this connexion, point out what Mr. Pradhan, the Excise Minister in the Bombay Legislative Council, said, 'that we will go on with the policy of prohibition as fast as possible in order to reach the goal at as early a date as possible'. There is another department in which revenue is equally increasing—I mean the Medical—which is due to the policy of charging such high fees for medical treatment as to scare away people from resorting to it.

“ The departments which are most disappointing are the departments of Agriculture and Industries. The administration report of the department

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of Agriculture speaks in glowing terms, and with the progress and extension in demonstration farms, breeding stations and depots for seeds and lint, this department has not proved to be a revenue earning department. In the Department of Industries which is regarded as a revenue earning department, the revenue has declined from 13.71 lakhs in 1924 to 7.73 lakhs in the current year. One melancholy feature of this department is the misfortune that has invariably overtaken all its commercial undertakings without exception, so that while the profits were 2.73 lakhs in 1925-26 the profits in 1927-28 are expected to be no more than about a lakh. We hope and trust that the new Minister will devote his attention to the situation, to the work of pioneering of industries in particular which have not till now been run on right lines on account of the overhead charges and want of proper business propaganda. I hope that he will so run them as to make them useful to the people of the country, so as to induce them to set up small enterprises which may be self-supporting. One argument that may be brought forward is that the state industries compete with private enterprise. That argument can hold good only if the Government refuse to hand over the paying industries when the offer comes for them from the public.

"With regard to fixing a standard of comparison in the revenue, the hon. the Finance Member has pointed out certain difficulties. There are four factors mentioned, the amount of taxation, variations in the accounts which have been going on for some time past, transferring minor items to major items and major items to minor and so on. In certain cases gross receipts of expenditure are separately taken into account instead of net receipts. In other cases the gross receipts and net receipts alone are shown. These are handicaps mentioned, but no remedy has been suggested. I would ask, why not make all the changes in one year and not deviate from it? If that could be done, I suppose we could start with a clean slate and probably a fixed standard of comparison may be arrived at.

"With regard to the surplus that we have at our disposal, I find that taking the revenue balances of 1925-26 and 1927-28, there is a revenue balance of 134 lakhs in two years, and deducting 70 lakhs deficit for 1927-28, we have a balance of 64 lakhs. And suppose we get a remission of 165 lakhs which we expect, there will be 229 lakhs at our disposal. All that we require is a revenue balance of 50 lakhs for emergency purposes. The question is what this House and the Treasury Bench, if this 165 lakhs is obtained, are going to do with it? I would suggest that a forward policy in excise should be adopted and a reserve put by against anticipated reduction in that revenue. For this, of course, we have the example in the Legislative Assembly last year when it reserved a certain sum for geological survey. In the same way we can keep a reserve against any deficits by adopting a forward policy in excise prohibition. I would suggest that this anticipated revenue may be kept as revenue reserve"

* Mr. K. MADHAVAN NAYAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, the reforms have granted two boons to India—(1) increased taxation, and (2) increased expenditure. As year after year passes, as budget after budget is presented by the Finance Members, the despair is growing upon the people of this Presidency that there is no salvation for them from the heavy taxation, no escape from the heavy expenditure. Of course, the Central Government is responsible for a good portion of the boons, e.g., postage and salt duty. But we are also in our own limited way responsible for the increase in the stamp duty and

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increase in the court-fee and registration charges, besides various taxes under the Local Boards Act and the education cess. The burden has become so heavy that year after year people look to the first week of March to find some ray of hope in the statement of the Finance Member, but, alas! to turn back in despair because he assumes a particularly gloomy form on that day. True the hon. the Finance Member is able to convert a deficit budget into a surplus budget, this year, on account of the opening balance. Even then he was able to give us no consolation because he says that the increase in the incremental scales, debt charges and pensions would eat up the surplus. Of course the Finance Member is hopeful as the budget presented in the Assembly shows that we are likely to get 165 lakhs by way of relief in our contribution. But what the Finance Member says is that the remission may be utilized for the development of ameliorative programmes. There is nothing said about the remission of taxes. We are thankful for small mercies. But, the Finance Member imposes a very heavy condition on this remission of 165 lakhs because he wants our representatives in the Assembly to behave like good boys, i.e., like bad boys from the nationalistic point of view. I submit that for ameliorative programmes a certain portion of the remission may be utilized. But the very heavy fine on litigants who want to enforce their rights in a court of law—that heavy fine was imposed by this House under exceptional circumstances—must be removed, and as, Sir A. P. Patro has said one of the first thing that the Government has to do is to remit that immoral tax. I remember the answer given by the hon. the Law Member last time, that there was no immoral imposition of tax because the Department of Law and Justice was working at a deficit of 16 lakhs. Was it working at a deficit before the tax was imposed? To arrive at this deficit he took into account 58 lakhs in the district administration. I do not know if the 58 lakhs included the pay of the Collectors and other officers and of His Excellency the Governor also who has also to do something with the administration of justice. I hope the hon. the Law Member will enlighten us on the point. But it is startling to hear that the administration of law and justice was working at a deficit.

“Now I am on the subject I wish to ask whether justice has been done to the copyists of the Judicial service that have been clamouring for being taken into the regular line for a very long time.

“The Government have been saying to the repeated interpellations in this Council that they are considering the question, that they are awaiting the reports from the High Court, from the Board of Revenue and so on. ‘Will they expedite the report’ was the question put by one Member at one time and they promised that it would be expedited. I wish to know what has been done in that matter. Is the Government going to take them into the regular line and make their position better than what it is now? Except a pittance of Rs. 14-8-0 per month, they do not get any substantial benefit. They have no pension and no bonus during vacation. That is the position. It certainly requires favourable consideration.

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“I come next to another department that is connected with the Transferred half. Any sum that is available should be utilized to relieve the distress of teachers in the aided schools. The Educational Council—I do not know what happens in the other parts of the presidency,—at any rate in Malabar gives to the teachers a grant ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. They get it at the end of the year and some times two or three months after the

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close of the year. In the meanwhile they run into debt in anticipation of the grant coming to their hands at the end of the year. At the end they are told that they are not to get even this Rs. 5 or Rs. 10, but only 40 per cent or 50 per cent of what they were expecting to get viz., Rs. 2½ in the place of Rs. 5 and Rs. 5 in the place of Rs. 10. That is the position of people with whom is entrusted the sacred duty of rearing up our future citizens. I hope that the Transferred department will see to it that these teachers are relieved and given something to live upon and not left to starve as they are now doing. The cases of the lower services of the teachers in the taluk boards also have to be considered by the Government. So, what I submit is that remission of taxation and the improvement of the condition of the subordinate services are matters which the hon. the Finance Member will have to bestow his attention upon in utilizing the amount that will be remitted by the Government of India.

“ Another point that I want to mention is the case of Mr. M. P. Narayana Menon. I wanted to speak something about the non-release of Narayana Menon in spite of the unanimous voice of the people of Malabar and the almost unanimous vote of this House. I do not know whether time will permit me to do so. Therefore, I shall refer to another point before I deal with his release, I mean the treatment meted out to him in the Penitentiary. I have no complaint at all against the jail officers, but I have a very serious complaint against the Inspector-General of Prisons. I submit, Sir, that Mr. Narayana Menon, when he was admitted into the Coimbatore jail in 1921, was in possession of robust health and in full vigour and was weighing 142 pounds. He belongs to a very respectable family in Malabar and was used to high living. Therefore, the ordinary diet in the jail did not suit him. I do not, for a moment, say that a prisoner, convicted by a court of law is entitled to preferential treatment. But when doctors advise that a particular prisoner ought to be given a particular form of diet, is it not the duty of the jail authorities to give him that diet?

“ Now, when Mr. Narayana Menon was taken to the Coimbatore jail in 1921, as I mentioned just now, he was weighing 142 pounds. He was taken to the Penitentiary in 1923 and then he was weighing only 127 pounds. During the ten days that he was in the Penitentiary, because of the change in the diet,—probably better diet was given in the Coimbatore jail—his weight was reduced by 10 pounds. Major Forsyth examined him and found that the diet that was being given to him in jail was certainly not suitable to him and he prescribed some milk and meat to be given to him daily. The Inspector-General took Major Forsyth to task for making the recommendation and sent back the report asking the Major why he made that recommendation. The Major gave some reason and there the matter ended. Then came another Superintendent and he made some change in the diet off and on. In the early part of 1926, Mr. Narayana Menon weighed 127 pounds. Then the improved diet was stopped to him altogether. As the result of the stoppage of the improved diet, by December 1926 Narayana Menon's weight came down to 103 pounds and he was reduced to a mere skeleton. Fortunately for him, Dr. Pandalai, the Presidency Magistrate, who is an official visitor to that jail, finding his condition alarming, wrote a strong minute in the Visitors Note Book to the effect that Narayana Menon requires immediate examination by medical authorities. He desired also that Narayana Menon should be taken to the General Hospital. The

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Rao Bahadur K. SITARAMA REDDI :—" When was the answer received, Sir? For, it says 46 were opened in the last year and with 107 of the previous year the total comes to 153. I think there is some mistake somewhere."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur R. N. AROGYASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" No, Sir. There were many opened in the years previous."

Mr. D. NARAYANA RAJU :—" May I know if the Government have considered the advisability of enjoining on all rural dispensary men that they should undergo some course of training in the ayurvedic system of medicine also by way of adding to their usefulness to the rural people? "

The hon. Diwan Bahadur R. N. AROGYASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" They do not propose doing it."

Extension of the Government Women and Children's Hospital at Mangalore.

* 202 Q.—Mr. A. B. SHETTY: Will the hon. the Minister for Public Health be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government Women and Children's Hospital extension scheme in Mangalore was included, as promised, in the very emergent works considered in connexion with the budget for 1926-27;

(b) whether the execution of the scheme is still kept in abeyance and the public fund raised for this purpose now amounting to Rs. 30,000 made to lie idle in the bank; and

(c) whether the contribution already promised by Government will be provided for at least in the next budget?

A.—The attention of the hon. Member is invited to the explanatory note relating to the motion for the supplementary demand of Rs. 100 passed at the meeting of the Legislative Council on the 24th January 1927 in connexion with the scheme for the extension and improvement of the Government Hospital for Women and Children at Mangalore. It is proposed to start work during the current year, the expenditure incurred being met from the public subscriptions. It is proposed to provide a sum of Rs. 30,000 representing the Government share of the cost of the scheme in the Civil Budget Estimates for 1927-28.

Agriculture

Stoppage of export of oil-cakes from the Presidency.

* 203 Q.—Mr. C. GOPALA MENON: Will the hon. the Minister for Development be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Director of Agriculture has recommended the stoppage of export of all oil-cakes from the Presidency so that the agriculture in the Presidency might benefit by the retention of oil-cake in the country and what action the Government have taken in connexion with this recommendation?

A.—The Director of Agriculture recommended in 1924 that the whole question of imposing restrictions on the export of manures should be examined by a committee to be appointed by the Government of India; this recommendation was forwarded by this Government to the Government of India in the same year.

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to property are tried in the mufassal courts by a sessions judge with the aid of jurors. So far as the recruitment of jurors is concerned, it seems to depend upon property qualification, so that it happens in very intricate cases, men who do not know to sign their own names are constituted as juries and are asked to try, weigh and decide on nice probabilities and inferences. If, Sir, the evil is confined to the mistaken verdict of ignorant jury, then at least we might be content to put up with it. But, Sir, the evil does not stop there. The evil, as it is, has assumed much greater proportions than that. Well, Sir, I speak with special reference to the conditions in my district. I have got experience of it for the last fifteen years and I say, Sir, it is an open secret that in almost 50 per cent of the cases the verdict of the jury is not above suspicion. I understand, Sir, the same state of affairs more or less prevails in the adjoining districts also. A rich man buys off justice and escapes scotfree. The arm of the law is indeed too short to get at the rich man, if it is a case of trial by a jury. Well, on the other hand, the poor and innocent is sometimes made a victim at the altar of the jury system in our province. Those who have first-hand experience of the jury, with its open trial in daylight in the court-house, examination of witnesses, cross-examination, arguments and summing up by the judge, know that all that is mere farce and that the real struggle as to the way in which the verdict is to be returned will take place under the covering darkness of night. (Laughter.) It is impossible to tolerate such a scandal. I need hardly impress upon this House how important the purity and efficiency of criminal justice is. If the purity of criminal administration is poisoned, I say, our civic life is poisoned at the very root, the fountain head. I would therefore impress upon the hon. the Law Member whom we look up to as 'a bright particular' star of the legal firmament (laughter) the necessity for looking into this matter very urgently and redress this crying evil.

"I now proceed, Sir, to refer to certain defects and disabilities under which my community (the Indian Christian community) is now labouring. There is a line in Hamlet in which it is said: 'You cannot speak of reason to the Dane and lose your voice.' I am confident, Sir, that if I demand justice and fairplay for my community, my demand will not fail to obtain a hearing in this House. In pleading for justice to my community, let me not be understood to advocate a narrow communal outlook. (Voices: 'Hear, hear'.) I say any injustice or wrong suffered by an individual community is a national injustice and it is, therefore, to the national interest that the injustice should be redressed and that the wrong should be righted.

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"Sir, the Indian Christian community is a fairly well-educated community. But I do not know, Sir, that to become educated is to commit the offence for which there is no forgiveness. The Madras Government seem to think otherwise. Fortunately for us, the pains and penalties which the Madras Government impose on the Indian Christian community are not included in the provisions of the Indian Penal Code or any other penal law. But they are to be found in the Madras Educational Rules. The Madras Government rightly and justly enough have classified the poor people living in this province. They have classified certain communities as depressed communities and some other communities as backward classes. If students are certified to be too poor to pay the school fees, and if they belong to backward communities, in the case of these students, facilities are afforded in the

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matter of concession of school fees. If it so happens that the members of the backward classes belong to the Christian faith, these concessions and advantages are denied to them. Sir, conversion to the Christian faith does not translate people to an easy economic paradise. The struggle for livelihood and the difficulty of maintenance is as great among them as they are in the case of other backward communities.

"I do not see any reason why any invidious distinction should be made in the case of Indian Christians. The people in this country are noted for religious toleration. The spirit of charity is the very life spirit of the people of our country and I say, Sir, that the Madras Government should not impair this spirit of charity by introducing distinctions and differences between one community and another. I give an instance, viz., that of the students of training schools. Hindu and Muhammadan lady students of training colleges are allowed a stipend of Rs. 20 per mensem. When it comes to a question of Christian girls who are reading in those institutions the stipend given to them is cut down by Rs. 5. Why this difference? I take it that the standard of living is practically the same for Christian, Muhammadan and Hindu ladies and I see, therefore, no point at all in treating the Indian Christian girls differently from the Hindu and Muhammadan students reading in the same institutions. Sir, I would invite the early attention of the hon. the Minister for Education to these points and request him to remove the disabilities we are labouring under, thereby vindicating justice and fair play to all communities."

* Nattam Dubash KHADIR SAHIB SYED IBRAHIM SAHIB Bahadur:—
"Mr. President, Sir, as usual, the budget is a deficit budget and its deficit character has no terrors for me. The administration should go on and we must have the courage to face the deficit this year. I would, however, wish that more provisions were made for nation-building and public welfare departments."

"But certain features of the administration and certain aspects of the policy pursued by the Government in the matter of working the reforms in the Presidency call for rather severe criticism. We were told that the people of the country were given real power to be exercised through this Council. Have the people been given any such power as it is often advertised? Let alone the vast majority of the adults of the country who remain without votes. Even the scanty voters recognized by the Reform scheme have been denied the free exercise of their franchise by the unchivalrousness and pettiness of the Government. The ban on Mr. Yaqub Hasan persisted in by the Government has deprived the Muslim community of its privilege of electing its best representative to a place in the Council. In spite of the attitude of the Government, the Muslims of the Presidency will for ever cherish with gratitude and love the immense services he has rendered to them for well nigh a generation and if he is not here to-day to lead the popular party of this House, he still undoubtedly is the leader of his people. May be his leadership outside this Council would be to the greater benefit of the community. However, the Muslim community can never forget the fact that animosity and jealousy of a particular political caucus that once had powerful influence with the powers that be, but now happily as dead as Queen Anne though individuals belonging to that caucus still hold powerful and influential positions have been the cause of the ban on Mr. Yaqub Hssan. (Mr. S. Satyamurti: 'Hear, hear.') It is to be hoped that the

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Government will realize the strength of popular opinion in the matter and do justice to Mr. Yaqub Hasan at the earliest opportunity and thereby do justice to themselves, the Muslim community and, may I add, the Reforms.

“Another aspect which calls for the severest condemnation is the attitude of the Government towards the Mappillas. The record of the Britisher's connexion with this country has always been marked with the notorious relationship of the Britisher and the Mappilla. That outrageous piece of legislation known as the Mappilla Outrages Act is itself a sufficient proof of the indomitable courage, religious zeal and national pride of the Mappillas and the vindictive, provoking and barbarous methods by which the pre-reform British Government in India successfully attempted to rule the country. Even before that Act the Mappilla had already been given a bad name; an opportunity was only awaited to hang him. That opportunity was afforded by the last rebellion. What with the zulum of the ordinary and special police, what with the zulum of the military and what with the oddities of the special magistracy, the Mappillas were harassed and massacred, convicted and sentenced for long terms in thousands. This recital does not mean that I am an apologist of the last Mappilla rebellion. I, in common with the other hon. Members of this Council and the general public, condemn in the strongest terms the foolishness of the Mappillas. But much water has already flown under the causeway of the rebellion. Peace has been somehow restored and that as early as 1920. The most cordial relation now exists between the Mappillas and the other sister communities in Malabar. In fact evidences of complete concord and fraternity are not wanting. And it is already high time that the wounds caused by Governmental ruthlessness should be healed. Some time back this Council recommended for the release of the Mappillas convicted of rebellion offences excluding offences against life. But that recommendation was treated with scant courtesy. Instead of releasing the Mappilla convicts on the lines of the recommendation, the Government are budgeting thousands and thousands of rupees for their maintenance in jails. I assure the Government that in this way they cannot secure the allegiance of the Mappillas to the Crown. As if this attitude is not of itself sufficient to sorely try the feelings of the Mappillas, the Government are pursuing the very dangerous and portentous policy of transporting innocent women and children of the Mappilla community to the Andamans under their pet scheme for the exploitation of the islands. The unsuitability of the islands for human habitation—the habitation of even condemned criminals—the moral degradation of the people who live there, the absence of any law and order in that ‘Happy valley’ and the myth of voluntary colonization have all been more than once discussed in this House and the whole scheme has been condemned practically unanimously in assured terms and yet the Government sphinx-like adopt their own cynical attitude and perhaps believe in irresponsiveness to popular opinion. By persisting in this scheme, the Government not only intends to depopulate Malabar of its Mappilla population and exploit their excellent labour for fertilizing the Andamans for the benefit of some European planter or other, but now it is evident that the fears many of us had that the carrying out of the scheme will result in converting all these exiles into Christians are being realized. The Government is sending members of the Salvation Army to the Andamans as officers like tahsildars. Is there any alternative left to the illiterate, ignorant and helpless men, women and children in exile put in charge of such men but to succumb to their persuasion and become Christians? Thus as a result of the scheme, Mappillas

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are not only decoyed from Malabar but now they are to be enticed away from Islam. The introduction of the Salvation Army tahsildars will have the result of converting not only the Muslims but also the Hindu convicts to Christianity. I take this opportunity of warning the Government betimes that that is a giddy and dangerous ride and that more rebellions are manufactured by such dare devil policy than by innumerable speeches of agitators. The Siberian policy of the Government of clapping up thousands of Mappillas in prisons and deporting innocent and free Mappilla women and children to that Hades in the Bay of Bengal cannot certainly bring peace to Malabar though it may bring about peace of a kind desolation. The real trouble with Malabar is not the Mappilla, but it is purely agrarian.

“The modest endeavour of that kind-hearted Member of this House, the hon. Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar, to alleviate the woes of the Malayalis in the form of his Tenancy Bill was scotched by the Government, though passed by the House by a large majority. When labour is in demand to exploit the fertile soil of Malabar itself the Mappillas, most of whom belong to labouring classes, are clapped in jails and their women and children are carried away to the Andamans to build in that tract of the globe Sir Arthur Knapp's Modern Rome. Can I not then characterize the policy of the Government as the maddest of mad policies? For goodness sake let the Government retrace their steps. Let them release the Mappillas now rotting in jail. Let them abandon the policy of Romulus to build a Rome in the islands of the Andamans. Let them adopt comprehensive schemes of Mappilla education, Tenancy reform, agricultural and industrial improvements or, in other words, let the Government hear the voice of reason.

“Another point which I would wish to impress upon the Government is their attitude towards the legitimate aspirations of the Muslims of the Province for some share in the higher ranks of public service. For years the agitation has been going on in and outside this Council for the representation of Muslims on the bench of the High Court. And the Government have many times come forward with their usual lame excuses that efficiency of public service could not be sacrificed in the interest of communal representation and suitable Muslims are not available to fill the office and that the Government would sympathetically consider the claims of Muslims when permanent vacancies occur. Vacancies have recently occurred and the sympathy of the Government for Muslim aspiration has not materialized. While I entirely agree with the Government that efficiency of public service should on no account be sacrificed, I refuse to believe and the Muslims do refuse to believe that a Muslim or two worthy of the high office could not be found in the year of grace 1927, now more than six years after the first and the last Muslim occupied a seat on the bench of the High Court. An ethnological survey of the present judges of the High Court can easily show that considerations other than pure efficiency have weighed with the Government in making their appointments. Let us all strive for efficiency. But to be clear of cant, let not the theory of efficiency be trotted out to hide the Government's inclination or bias to patronize particular individuals or communities in preference to Muslims.

“One word more. In our absorption in the political chess-game, let us not forget the ryot. Famine threatens this year everywhere in the Presidency. Provision for adequate measures of famine relief will have to be

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made. Remission of kist will have to be granted on a liberal scale. The deficit character of the budget ought not to be used as an excuse for any half-heartedness on the part of the Government in alleviating the sufferings of the riots this year.

"In conclusion, I most respectfully appeal to the Government to be more responsive to public opinion."

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* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—"Mr. President, Sir, I have been returned to this Council by a people who have striven, who have fought and who have struggled in a peaceful spirit to gain freedom and to become masters of their own houses and thereby have extracted from an unwilling bureaucratic system of Government the promise of an apple, an apple dangling before their eyes, of democracy. I desire to examine this budget, Sir, from the point of view of what democracy we have achieved through all these six years.

"I desire to draw the particular attention of the Members of the Treasury Bench to the necessity of passing, if they are capable of passing, if they are humane enough to do it, an ordinance of self-denial and sending an ultimatum to the Government in England that Provincial autonomy should be forthwith given to this province, at any rate. I examine this budget as representing democracy, and I ask if it is real democracy for the Chief Executive of a Province—I claim the Governor in this matter as the Chief Executive, because he is nothing else when he appoints his own Ministers—to appoint the Ministers and if it is consistent with democracy to appoint such Ministers from a party which was no party at the elections, to appoint Ministers from a party which has no majority in this House. I do not attack merely Ministers; I attack the whole system of Government. Diarchy contains both Ministers and Executive Council Members, and therefore, it need not be taken that I am attacking merely the Ministers. I am attacking both sides of the Government, and I desire that this budget should be examined from the point of view of democracy.

"I have closely examined the figures. The hon. the Finance Member has been at very great pains to prove to us that the Development Departments had got a great deal of money within the last six years; but, may I ask him, what right of voting I have got in this House? The right of voting so far as the expenditure goes—I cannot go into the details of the figures, because I have not much time before me—does not extend to the non-voted portion of the budget which comes to 25 per cent of the total expenditure; and we have no effective control or effective vote over 75 per cent of the expenditure, because it is reserved. From the ex-Ministerial friends we heard that they were afraid of the Governor's power of certification and therefore they dropped a certain piece of legislation; and the Governor's power of certification is always there, and therefore this 75 per cent of expenditure is certainly not under our control. Then, Sir, what further right have we over the small amount that we have to vote? What is it that we are allowed to vote for in any effective manner? The new schemes that are talked of in this budget amount to 81.79 lakhs. Out of such huge expenditure, the effective vote that we can possibly exercise under the present diarchical institution is this: that we can exercise our vote up to 81.79 lakhs, and that too, where the Reserved departments are concerned, we have to suffer certification in the end. Now, Sir, I have taken the figures which the hon. the Finance Member has supplied us with,

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He found very great difficulty in finding out a standard of revenue and expenditure from the figures that we have, but still I must go on the figures that he has given us. I find, Sir, that during the last six years the cost that we have had to bear on account of the pay of officers, establishments, allowances, contingencies and supplies and services has increased very heavily, and it was in 1925-26, 13 per cent more than what it was in 1920-21. Counting at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year, I think the 1927-28 budget should show not less than 18 per cent increase. As for the Revenue side, if you examine it, you will find that there is 5 per cent difference between 1920-21 and 1925-26. If you take the 1927-28 budget, I am sure it will be much less than 5 per cent increase. In ordinary human, domestic, economic circles, one would feel that the householder should manage the house within the revenue that he gets and that he should not live upon windfalls or on loans. How does the Government get that part of the expenditure which is an excess over the percentage that I have given? Certainly the Government must be living upon windfalls. It is living, as a matter of fact, upon windfalls. No Government has a right to depend upon such windfalls.

"Now, Sir, I ask whether we have had any economic advantage out of this democracy. What is the economic advantage that we are getting and how can we get it? How can economic budgeting be possible? It can be possible not by cutting at the lower rungs; it seems it is easy to cut at them; it is easy to cut at the karnams, it is easy to cut at the teachers, and it is easy to cut at others; but it is very difficult to cut at the higher officials. I do not know why my friend, the hon. the Finance Member, should not serve us on Rs. 1,000 a month. If I had the privilege, if this House had Provincial autonomy, I should have asked him, I should have even bargained with him for Rs. 1,000. I have not got that right, and as long as I have not got that right, I cannot live within my means. This is a system of Government which must be condemned by any human being. I have no quarrel with any gentleman as a gentleman. I know, for instance, that Mr. Marjoribanks is a gentleman. I have no quarrel with him as Mr. Marjoribanks, but I have quarrel with him as a Revenue Member, as forming part of the Government. If I had the right to appoint him, if I had the right to bargain with him, I merely would have said 'You cannot be so callous'. I feel, Sir, that by being a part of bureaucracy, very good gentlemen who would otherwise be human (laughter) become so callous, as my friend Mr. Marjoribanks has. Certainly I feel, Sir, that Mr. Majoribanks has become callous in the matter of the famine business, and I know that people are suffering very heavily on account of heavy and pressing collections. To turn to the economic conditions in our country, I have merely to say that we have to deal with the petty dealer, the petty cultivator and the petty farmer who form the backbone of this country. What is their lot? How are they taxed? What are the taxes in other countries? Land tax and Consumptive tax—that is how the Taxation Enquiry Committee makes the classification,

Including these two classifications,

in the United Kingdom it comes to 28.34,

in Japan it is 35.05,

in Australia which is an agricultural colony of the British Empire, it is 41.44,

in India it is 66 per cent.

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“Fancy, Sir, 66 per cent, of the revenue is directly taken from the poor ryot and the indirect taxation, i.e., taxation which is not included in this, is supposed to come from other sources; but, in India, there is no earning capacity, there is no industrial development, there is nothing that anybody can pay taxes on. The Governor's income-tax comes out of the pockets of the ryot; the Finance Member's income-tax comes out of the pockets of the ryot; the income-tax that the great magnates of trade and commerce in this country pay comes out of the pockets of the ryot. When the ryot is so deplorably down-trodden, when the ryot is so entirely poor, it is absurd that the Government expenditure should be growing and growing at a rate which is not comparable in any manner with the development of revenue. I might be told, Sir, that efficiency requires all this expenditure. I would ask my hon. Friends on the other side on the Treasury Bench, as English gentlemen, to answer me direct. What happened to America when America threw out the old rule and established self-government for herself; did America suffer from inefficiency? What is happening in other countries? Suppose we were well armed—as we are not armed to-day; suppose we had the power to defeat the Britisher in India and send him out; and suppose we had the power to rule ourselves after we succeed in sending him out; do you think we will suffer from any inefficiency because the British bureaucrat is not here and the present system of government is not here? I should think that efficiency should guide us not in expanding our expenditure. The present system is nothing but a brilliant and a dazzling sword. A dazzling sword is a very good thing for cutting others' throats. It is a very good weapon. But because it is brilliant, because it is dazzling, it cannot be devoured. It will kill the man who devours it. In India, we are unable to have the power in our hands, to control the whole machinery of financing the Government. There does not seem to be any use in asking us, on occasions like this to discuss that budget in a democratic hall like this, as our friends would make it out to be. Really what is the power that we have in this Council? Have the Ministers any power? Have the Executive Councillors any power, I ask. The Finance Member is the lord of all of us. He has to pass every new demand, he has to examine every new demand. In the English Parliament, every power is vested in the hands of the House of Commons, and the Finance Member is a part of the elected House of Commons. Here, the Finance Member is not an elected part of this House, and therefore, the Finance Member is really the king, the ruler and every blessed encomium may be thrown upon him for governing the administration. Therefore, I feel that this budget is very unsatisfactory from the point of view of real democracy.

“There are two or three aspects of it to which I would draw your kind attention in detail. How is the Government carried on in this province? I am sure by Superintendents, by assistants to hon. Members, by assistants to the heads of departments. And who are the heads of departments? So much has been talked of Indianisation all these six years since the Reforms were introduced; and yet there are no Indian heads in more than two or three departments. I have looked into the papers and I say that that is so. And we are governed by whom? By the Secretaries on the one side and by their superintendents and their assistant officers on the other. If that is the way in which we are governed, if it is for them that we should discuss the budget at sessions like this, I would certainly request the Government,

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that is responsible for this form of debate, that these three days be immediately taken away. The general discussion on the budget has entirely no influence on the policy of the Government, and as long as this House cannot influence the policy of the Government, as long as the Finance Member is not amenable to the vote of this House, it is useless to discuss this budget in a House like this for three days. It is a sheer waste of time. Let us realise whether diarchy is democracy or whether diarchy is worse than bureaucracy. It is worse than bureaucracy for the simple reason that we are wasting so much of our money in order just to be dictated to by one officer or by two or three officers in the whole administration.

"I have merely to point to one or two other small items, as to how the Government carries on the administration at present. You will observe in the budget estimates that the Police Commissioner draws a very meagre pay, poor man, of Rs. 2,000 and he is to be paid every month probably another Rs. 1,000 for examining or inspecting motor buses and cars. [A voice Rs. 500.] According to my calculation it comes to Rs. 1,000. Probably I am wrong, and I had not much time to calculate as the budget was thrown on me at the last moment. Again, you will see, Sir, under European education, there is a particularly interesting item. Rs. 12,000 of scholarship is being given to European students, and for that purpose they hold an examination. I find that Rs. 5,000 has been budgeted for such examination. Sir, for a scholarship of Rs. 12,000, a cost of Rs. 5,000 has been budgeted for a preliminary examination. In this way, I can point to a number of things. For instance, Commissioner of Labour is to be given an assistant officer on Rs. 500 or Rs. 600. Probably there is some pet boy who is to be patted on the back and utilized for the purposes of Government. I do not know what it really means. In this way, we are running the race which is deplorably bad. The Finance Member, though he has attempted to give us figures, has not been kind enough to examine all the implications, the economic implications of his budget."

(At this stage the Secretary sounded the gong and the Member resumed his seat.)

* Mr. A. B. SHETTY :—" Mr. President, Sir, before proceeding to make any general observations, I wish with your permission, Sir, to say a word or two on behalf of my own district, South Kanara, which as my hon. Friend, Mr. Saldanha, has often been urging in this House has not been receiving sufficient attention to its needs. And this, perhaps, for two reasons. South Kanara, in the first place, is in a remote corner of the Presidency, at the extreme south-west end of it and in the second place, being a Tulu Kanarese district, it stands isolated from all other districts. It cannot for these reasons make its voice felt with the force which Andhra or Tamil districts can muster on their side. If you compare South Kanara with Malabar you will find how its claims are neglected in many ways. There is a general tendency to locate almost all institutions meant for the West Coast in Malabar. I may, for illustration, point to the Kerala Soap factory in Calicut, the Fishery station at Tanur, the paddy-breeding station at Pattambi which is nearer Coimbatore than South Kanara though the station is meant for the West Coast, to the agricultural middle school and the agricultural farm in Taliparamba. I trust, Sir, that at least the industrial school which is proposed for the West Coast would be located at Mangalore. I say this in no spirit of rivalry with Malabar but because Mangalore with its many far famed factories and workshops is the place eminently fitted for an industrial school. Take, again, the question of roads. It is another instance

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of the way in which our district receives scant consideration. Though South Kanara maintains proportionately a greater mileage of roads than any other district board area, it has only 65 miles of trunk road as against the Presidency average of 126 miles. The neighbouring district of Malabar which maintains a total mileage of roads exceeding that of South Kanara by only 125 miles has as many as three trunk roads, 153 and odd miles in length and it has two imperial roads about 100 miles in length. The district board of South Kanara has again and again been asking the Madras Government that the Mangalore-Mercara road No. 1 should be converted into an imperial road and the Kodical ghat road which is next in importance as regards traffic should be taken up as a trunk road. The Kodical ghat road, I may add, is the main line of communication between Mysore and the West Coast, and the Mysore Planters' Association have been backing up the demand of the District Board of South Kanara in this matter. In spite of their weighty support even this small mercy has not been shown to us. I do not know, Sir, on what basis financial assistance is given to the local bodies. I find that an interpellation was put on this matter this morning but no reply has been given to it. I know it is a very difficult task to distribute fairly grants to local bodies. The best solution seems to me to make local bodies stand on their own legs. Let them have their own resources to meet their requirements so that they could be independent, and have a proper sense of responsibility, instead of merely depending upon the Government for small mercies.

It is not encouraging to read from the Budget memorandum that during the last six years, from 1920-21 to 1925-26 our expenditure has increased almost to double in extent of the growth of our revenues—242 and odd lakhs as against 129 and odd lakhs. Nor is it satisfying to find from the Finance Member's statement that the maintenance of the present establishment itself on the existing scale will absorb much of the growth of our revenue for many years to come. Even with the total remission of our contribution to the Central Government, the Finance Member does not hold out to us any hope that we could go on with our ameliorative programmes for more than three years. Now, if the Government is to be progressive and popular it must eliminate every possible item of unnecessary expenditure and it must so pool its resources as to make it possible to launch upon new schemes of development year after year. We shall not be justified if we spend lakhs and lakhs of money on buildings or other unproductive works, in improving the amenities of town life at the expense of the villages. What the Government do to help the ryots in the villages will be the acid test by which they will be judged. In the present circumstances of the province, we can very well embark upon a bolder policy of agricultural and industrial development.

“Take, first Agriculture. There is a crying need for more experimental and demonstration farms; an insistent demand for a larger staff of demonstrators. We must have at least one demonstrator for each taluk in the Presidency. I would put this as our minimum requirement and not as the goal which we should have in view, as pointed out in the Administration Report of the Agricultural department. I would go still further and say that the jurisdiction of each Circle officer, I mean the Deputy Director of Agriculture, should be reduced to a single district so as to make intensive work possible for him. If other departments of Government like those of

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Revenue, Police, Education, Judicial and Labour could each of them have a district officer, why should we grudge it for the department of Agriculture which is a matter of such vital concern to us? The District Officer whom I propose may be given another name and be placed in charge of the whole Development Department so that the work of agriculture, co-operation and industries may be co-ordinated and combined as it should have been done long ago. This would not only make for the better working of the departments but also reduce much unnecessary expenditure. The department of Industries has rightly come in for a great deal of criticism. One hon. Member of the House went so far as to seriously propose that the department of Industries should be abolished. It was said not in this year but a year ago. Now, this department has not met with sufficient success in establishing any pioneer industries of importance and several of the attempts in this direction have been hopeless failures. The only industry of importance which it has helped to promote to some extent is that of handloom weaving. But this requires greater attention and more encouragement than are at present afforded. What with the coming in and going out of directors and secretaries, with the lack of any settled policy and clear-cut programme of work in the past, this department has been merely marking time and adapting itself to the whims and fancies of fleeting directors. The department must proceed at once to concentrate on the important work of the improvement of handloom weaving and it must establish more technical and industrial schools with a view to tackle, if possible, the growing evil of unemployment. The survey of cottage industries which has recently been undertaken will, I hope, result in inaugurating a new era of industrial development in our rural areas. In helping the ryot to produce more out of his lands as well as in enabling him to get better prices for his produce, the co-operative movement can do a great deal. That is the reason for suggesting an amalgamation of the work of these three departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation. At present the history of the co-operative movement is more a sad tale of increased overdues on the one side and heavy surpluses on the other. It has often been urged in this House, Sir, that mass education should be the first charge on the State revenues. Want of funds has so far been standing in the way of our carrying out a wide programme of free and compulsory education. Now that we have secured a remission of our contributions, we can earmark a portion of this amount for this purpose. A substantial portion of the remaining amount could very well be utilized for taking a definite step in the direction of prohibition to which this House stands committed. And a good portion may also be utilized for village improvement. This windfall gives us a good opportunity for effecting these three much-talked-of reforms, and I hope this House will unanimously press forward such a proposal."

* Mr. B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI:—"Mr. President, Sir, the House has to congratulate itself on having seen the day when the provincial contribution has been remitted. Oftentimes the Government have been telling us that they have to meet with a heavy burden of provincial contribution, and whenever a well here or a bridge there was asked for the excuse of our provincial contribution was readily put forth. I hope, Sir, that the days of holding out excuses have gone and the Government will now think of launching a more constructive programme."

"First, I wish to invite the attention of the hon. the Law Member in regard to schemes of irrigation. Lakhs and crores have been spent or

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advanced for the improvement of irrigation facilities in the South of the Presidency, and four years of his rule have not been able to give the Northern Circars or the Andhra country any facilities whatever. And even the long-expected Tungabhadra project seems to be receiving secondary consideration. That project has been trampled down; for, other projects now under construction have been thought of, and as an eye-wash a sum of Rs. 25,000 has been provided in the present budget for the investigation of the Tungabhadra project.

4-30
p.m.

"In this connexion I would particularly invite the attention of the hon. the Law Member to the district of Nellore, which seems to have been entirely forgotten by the Ceded Districts Irrigation Enquiry Committee. I know, Sir, that there are four items which speak of Nellore district. But, in the body of the report, no thing is spoken of regarding the possibility of getting the benefits of the Tungabhadra project to the district of Nellore.

"Next to that, I would say that minor irrigation has been completely neglected in my district. Hon. Members coming from the rural areas could certainly understand how poorly minor irrigation works have been thought of by the Revenue officers of their several districts, and I would say with regard to my own district that nothing has been provided for by way of improving the minor irrigation. The budget estimates show a reduction of a lakh of rupees under one head of minor irrigation and a provision of only Rs. 900 under another head. This seems to be disastrous. The only protection that the ryot wants from the Government, the only privilege that the ryot expects from the Government, is the privilege of getting better facilities for irrigation. If big projects are not possible, it is at least advantageous to have smaller irrigation tanks revived or repaired. As far as my district is concerned no attempt has been made in this direction, and I hope that the question will be considered hereafter at least. Very often the Government have been telling us that big projects are under contemplation. Those big projects are being considered indefinitely and the minor irrigation projects are put off giving us the hope that the big projects will come very soon. Four years back, at the end of the year 1923, Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu moved a resolution and it was unanimously accepted by this House, and I think the hon. the Law Member himself had given the assurance that some projects in the Nellore district would be undertaken at once. During these four years, nothing has been done, and no attempt has been witnessed as far as I can see. I hope this question will engage the attention of the hon. the Law Member and also the hon. Member for Revenue.

"Another matter on which I wish to lay emphasis is the question of the Andhra University. I am afraid the change in the Ministry has brought about a change in the destiny of the Andhra University. (Hear, hear.) This year the budget provides for a paltry sum of only Rs. 1,15,000. Probably it is the intention of the hon. the Chief Minister that the Vice-Chancellor should go on with his small office and probably brood on books perhaps borrowed as the University has not yet a library of its own; and if that is the intention of the hon. the Minister for Education, I do not think that he would be justifying his position. If the Tamil University which is contemplated—probably the hon. the Minister has revised his ideas on this matter—has to achieve any success at all, I should think that the success of the Andhra University must lead the way to it. I am told that projects to the extent of Rs. 13,00,000—I may be corrected if I am wrong—have been

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prepared by the department concerned in connexion with the improvement of the Andhra University. But I do not find any trace of those projects in the budget estimates at all. Perhaps the hon. the Minister for Education with one stroke of his pen has abandoned them. If that is the policy that he is going to adopt with regard to the Andhra University if that is the treatment that he is going to give to a new University that has been given a form by this hon. House, I should think that he is doing much injustice. I should like to point out that it is sheer partiality that the hon. Minister is showing. If he is not capable of providing for better projects, I should think that he should at least be capable of continuing what is already begun. I know that he is quite open to conviction, because I have been seeing that he has never hesitated to change his ideas; and I hope that this year a better treatment would be accorded to the Andhra University than what has been suggested by the figures given in the Budget estimates.

“Now that the Government are able to command a better financial position and now that the provincial contribution has been remitted, I hope the Government would certainly think of the nation-developing departments. Time and often we have been told in this House that as soon as the Provincial contribution is remitted, funds would be found for everything, for agriculture, for the veterinary department, for irrigation, for education, for medicine and so on. But we see no trace of any activity towards that pious hope being realized. I hope that the better control of the finances would give them the required boldness to ask for more funds. I would certainly appreciate the fact that the hon. the Minister for Medicine is willing to spend more on medicine, but I cannot be a party to vote for 40 lakhs or more for improving the hospitals, etc., in the City of Madras. When the rural areas are suffering for want of proper medical men, when the rural hospitals are not given even the benefit of antiquated apparatus, I do not really find the wisdom in our spending 40 lakhs for hospitals in Madras and that for equipping them with up-to-date and modern equipment. I suggest that this 40 lakhs should be spent in rural areas to relieve the suffering there and consequently to relieve the congestion in the urban areas. If the Government are broad-minded and large-hearted they will certainly see the wisdom of giving this surplus money to the local bodies to spend on mufassal hospitals. And further, Sir, when the Village Officers Restoration Bill was on the anvil we were told that the pay of the village officers could not be retained at that standard, if all the village officers were to be restored and the hon. House consented to a reduction in the salary of the village officers, provided all those that had been thrown out of office were to be restored. Now the same complaint cannot be made by the Government. The former excuse cannot hold good. Lakhs of rupees are now in the hands of the Government and I hope the hon. the Revenue Member would certainly take this opportunity of providing for the standard of pay that had been in existence before the Village Officers Restoration Act was passed. I do not think, Sir, that this is a preposterous request. This is a very modest request. There have been resolutions before this House recommending that the village officers' pay should be increased to Rs. 20, Rs. 30 and so on. But I would put that at a modest rate, namely, that the old pay of the village officers should be revived, taking the opportunity of the funds now available with the Government”.

(At this stage the gong was sounded.)

[Mr. C. E. Wood]

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* Mr. C. E. Wood :—"I take this opportunity of adding my congratulations to those of others to the hon. the Finance Member upon his budget, and more especially with regard to the manner in which it is presented. It is understandable even to the Commercial community, of whom it is often said that much that is done by Government is far from understandable!

"The hon. Finance Member appears to be a little anxious lest he should have shown a spirit of recklessness in suggesting the appropriation of unspent balances—some 134.71 lakhs.

"Quite apart from the question as to whether we shall or shall not benefit from a further large remission of Provincial contributions I take the view that the hon. Member is not only fully justified in robbing the hen-roost in this way but that it is his duty to do so when there is a shortage and work to be done.

"I hold that a part of our duties in this Council is to see that we leave behind a record of work accomplished, of advancement; that posterity demands from us a record of progress and not a bag of money and that we would be failing in our duty were we to leave undone essential work for which funds were available.

"Being a Commercial representative my first examination of the budget is naturally amongst the Industrial provision. I see there an increase for Engineering direction and sincerely trust this does not presage another Commercial venture! The record of the Industries department is such in the matter of Commercial ventures that one cannot but view with some apprehension any additional provision.

4-45
p.m.

"I make bold to say that not one of the Industrial ventures of a Commercial nature which they have undertaken during the past ten years has proved a success either financially or as a means for developing new Industries, and when I say 'financially' I mean that if the expenditure of each on Capital, running and maintenance, from the start, together with proper direction charges and depreciation were taken into account the money lost would stagger the tax-payer. And no new Industries have arisen as a consequence.

"When trained Industrialists cannot foresee profits it is hardly likely that a Government department can make them.

"For development which holds a reasonable chance of financial success capital is always forthcoming and I think there is more tendency for Indian and imported capital to join together, which is what is wanted. No one wishes to import capital if it is available in India, in fact outside capital for India is not so readily available as it once was.

"I am not at war with the present policy of Government in these matters as I believe that wiser counsels prevail and that the Industries department expects in future to confine its Industrial development programme to experimental work, technical instruction and assistance of that nature; I am merely expressing the views of my part of the Commercial community on what has been done in the past and the hope that the present budget contains no provision for enterprise in the nature of new Commercial ventures.

"The increased provision for pumping and boring is very satisfactory. The provision of cheap facilities in this direction for the poor ryot is one of

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the greatest boons that can be conferred, and I would even welcome a programme whereby these services were rendered at prices considerably below cost.

"Again, the provision for the survey of Cottage Industries is one which is to be heartily welcomed. The possibilities deserve close examination and if it is found that the lot of the agriculturist can be improved through granting him some facilities and technical help a great work will be launched.

"I turn to the Medical grant because the hon. Member who has just spoken referred adversely to the grant proposed for the Madras General Hospital. I think the hon. Member should remember that this is the Mother Hospital and that unless it can point the way in up-to-date equipment and accommodation and training there can be no hope of the Mufassal Hospitals being anything but behind the times. Madras is known in Madras and in all India to be the most enlightened Presidency and it is a blot on our record that our General Hospital should not be even comparable to those existing in Bombay and Calcutta. Let it not be said that we are ceasing to lead India in such matters.

"The transfer of the Health Council to Government control seems to be a move very much in the right direction, but I have been disappointed not to see any specific mention of provision for work in connexion with what has been called Social Hygiene. It will be remembered that last year a delegation from the Social Hygiene Council visited us and showed us the possibilities of taking active steps against that terrible scourge venereal disease which possesses such a hold on the country, and the name of which so many people seem even afraid to mention.

"We are told, and I think any medical practitioner will confirm it, that the vitality of the country is 50 per cent below par as a result of Malaria, Hookworm, incorrect feeding and venereal disease. The three first matters are receiving attention but not yet the last which is possibly the most important of all. As an employer of labour, I know how the vitality of the labourer is reduced to a mere fraction of its normal by bad health and I hold that, until India has become physically much fitter by the provision of facilities to raise the standard of health, she cannot possibly hope to stand up as a nation in the present day competition of the world.

"I regard provision for health as provision for the political advancement of the country and hope to see a generous allotment in due course for the work referred to.

"The budget, on the whole, presents a most satisfactory appearance. It reveals a sound financial position coupled with a desire to make provision for all the most pressing needs of the Presidency."

* Mr. R. NAGAN GOWDA :—"It is fortunate that we have 1,654.8 lakhs to spend this year and this with the addition of 165 lakhs remission likely to be made by the Central Government ought to be able to enable us to do more for the people that supply the revenues for this Presidency. A great portion of the revenue of this Presidency is obtained from land revenue. It is necessary, I believe, Sir, that at least something ought to be done to enable the people that supply this large proportion of land revenue and a large proportion of the revenue of the Presidency by way of keeping up this supply

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to the country. Now, looking at the proportion that exists between land revenue and the money that is spent for the improvement of the agricultural conditions one will notice that rarely any more than 50 per cent is spent on this. It is something like the killing of the goose that lays the golden egg. The cultivator pays a great deal more to the upkeep of the Government than any other member of the community. He pays probably an income-tax much more than the members of the other communities, only we do not recognize that it is an income-tax. Then, Sir, not only does he bear the land revenue but also pays the revenue of the Government in the form of excise duty. Here he pays 500 lakhs of rupees. He also pays, Sir, a stamp duty of 250 lakhs. These three items cover 90 per cent of the revenue of the Presidency. Now is it not reasonable to suppose that the people that pay this 90 per cent of the revenue of the Presidency ought to be paid back in a similar proportion? Is it too much to expect that they have to be paid if not that much at least they must be paid proportionately larger amount towards the improvement of their conditions? Is it too much, Sir, that agriculturists who form 90 per cent of the people who should be given an opportunity to improve their trade and profession should be given only 35 lakhs of rupees for agriculture. Now, Sir, taking the agricultural industry of growing paddy, growing cotton and sugarcane, you will find that this country is far behind every other advanced country in the matter of the yield. And this is in spite of the fact that we are at the game much longer than any other country. We grow much less wheat and rice per acre than other advanced countries in the world. Is it not necessary, Sir, that more money ought to be spent to carry on research work to enable us to find out better methods of cultivation? Then, Sir, is it not necessary that we ought to carry on research work to enable people to increase the fertility of their cheeper than they have been able to do so far. Then, Sir, is it not proper that we should find out means by which this agricultural knowledge is brought to the doors of the agriculturists much more readily than at present. There is a demonstrator for every two taluks at present. It will be much better if the number of these men are doubled at least. Then, Sir, there is the question of village communication, village sanitation and also the question of rural industries. Three-fourths of the people have now to depend on agriculture as their main occupation. This not only makes them incapable of getting enough livelihood for themselves but it also discourages men from hoping to get anything better in their lives. Would it not be better to spend more money on industries so that some portion of the people that now depend on land might go back to industries? Sir, we had the weaving industry much earlier than any other nation and this is now being ousted by the products that come from other countries. Will it not be much better to get more research work done to enable the people in these industries to get their work done at a much cheaper rate than at present. Also, Sir, there is the great need of water-supply in the villages. You will be surprised to realize that in some parts of the central districts it is very difficult to get water for drinking. Would it not be better that provision is made in the budget for constructing a number of tube wells in towns and villages so that people may not feel the difficulty of finding water which is the first essential of life. A great deal of money is spent in building constructions and I see a sum of over 6 lakhs has been spent—3 lakhs for the college buildings at Coimbatore and 3 lakhs for quarters to the officials at Hosur. For Government schools money has been spent lavishly. I am reminded of a poet who

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said of the fish in the pond that looked at the monkey and wanting to learn to jump from branch to branch they planted trees also in the pond. Just as the mere preserve of trees with branches could not enable the fish to learn jumping so also mere buildings could not educate children. In short too large an amount of money is spent by way of buildings. There are schools in this country where we get more learning without spending huge sums for building purposes. Much less money has been spent for buildings than for the maintenance of the staff. I wish to add one more word before I finish and that is about the salaries that are paid to the men employed by Government and the income that the men could get from their professions in private enterprise. There ought to be a certain standard by which the wages of the men in Government service is calculated. The average living wage of a family in this country is somewhere near Rs. 75 and this ought to be maintained as a standard by which the salaries of men that are employed for public work ought to be calculated."

At this stage the House rose for the day to meet again at 11 a.m. the next day.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.



APPENDIX I

[Vide answer to question No. 198 asked by Mr. C. Gopala Menon at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 3rd March 1927, page 143 supra.]

*Extract from the Reference of the Commissioner of Excise, C.R.
No. 8759-Abk./26, dated 22nd December 1926.*

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7. All the arrack shops were closed as an experiment for a period of three years from 1st April 1924 in the taluks of Shiyali and Tirutturaipundi of the Tanjore district; in the Tiruvadanaï taluk of the Ramnad district; in the Tenkasi taluk of the Tinnevely district; and in the Attur taluk of the Salem district. The period of the experiment will cease with the end of the current year and the question has therefore to be considered whether the closure of shops may be made permanent or continued as an experiment for a further period. In the Shiyali taluk the experiment led to an increase in the consumption of foreign liquor during 1925-26, but during the first half of the current year there is a fall. It has had no effect on toddy consumption in the area nor apparently on the arrack consumption in the adjoining taluks. In the Tirutturaipundi taluk, the experiment stimulated the consumption of foreign liquor to some extent but had no effect on the toddy consumption in the locality nor on arrack consumption in the adjoining taluks. The closure of shops is reported not to have resulted in illicit distillation or kindred offences, which are reported to be unknown in these parts. Two cases of unlicensed transport involving $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of liquor were reported in 1925-26 and one case of transport of $9\frac{1}{2}$ drams of liquor intended